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**IMMIGRANTS IN LISBON:
Routes of integration**

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INTRODUCTION

The origins of this research lie in a report on the integration policies aimed at the immigrant population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, written within the scope of an international research project co-ordinated by Harlan Koff and hosted by the Ethnobarometer Program¹: *Migrant Integration in Selected European Cities: a Comparative Evaluation of City-based Integration Measures*² (Koff, 2002).

The work now undertaken further investigates the issues analysed in that report and is part of the Project “Reinventing Portuguese Metropolises: migrants and urban governance” of the *Centro de Estudos Geográficos* of the University of Lisbon, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (POCTI 38599/GEO/2001).

It was not until recently that Portugal became a destination area for international migrations and, thus, the percentage of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the resident population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is lower than is the case in other capital regions of Central and Northern Europe. However, over the past 25 years, just like in other Southern European metropolises, there has been a significant growth in the number of foreign citizens, which has taken place alongside the ethnic and cultural diversification of those living in the Lisbon region. At the same time, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area has also undergone a process of social and spatial restructuring, with the reinforcement of the spatial segregation mechanisms based on ethnicity. Moreover, the development of ethnic entrepreneurship and the cultural and social practises specific to certain immigrant groups has led to the intensification of the original forms of appropriation of Lisbon’s urban space, the Martim Moniz area providing a paradigmatic example.

Several authors have pointed out the importance of migrations in the process of urban expansion and change. Paul White (1999, pp.155-156) has stressed this fact, maintaining that the major cities are the result of migrations

¹ Ethnobarometer is an international research network on interethnic relations and migration flows in Europe (see: www.ethnobarometer.org/index.htm).

² The research project looks at integration processes in Brussels, Lisbon, Manchester, Mannheim, Murcia, Rotterdam, Stockholm, Toulouse and Turin.

insofar as their expansion is due to the inflow of immigrants rather than to their natural demographic growth. On the other hand, the integration strategies adopted by the immigrants and the ethnic minorities in the societies and territories that host them, albeit conditioned by the political and institutional system and by the economic and social features of the destination territories, also play a pro-active role in the transformation of the urban economies, in the segregation of the residential areas and in the social, cultural and symbolic differentiation of the places of destination.

By focusing on integration policies, this paper seeks to analyse the integration processes of the immigrated communities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and to emphasize local and nation-wide policy-making. The paper is divided into four main sections. The first one provides an overview of both the urban structure and the demographic, economic and social composition of the population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. The second section addresses the principles, actions and measures that have characterised national and local policies with regard to immigrants and ethnic minorities since the introduction of the democratic regime in 1974. Naturally, more attention is devoted to the present situation and to the developments of the past 10 years – the period in which a more or less structured set of policies finally began to be designed. The third section describes the present situation of the foreign population. Specifically, it addresses the integration of immigrants in the local employment and housing markets, their political participation and their integration in the social fabric of the city. Whenever possible, a diachronic analysis of the 1990's (taking 1990/91, 1995 and 2000/2001 as key years) is provided. However, in the case of some of the variables, the available information is not thorough and systematic, which has limited this kind of analysis. Finally, section four provides a summary of the most relevant features of the immigrant population and a brief preliminary assessment of the policies that have been adopted at the local and national levels.

It is worth pointing out that this part of the research faced considerable statistical difficulties. Due to it having been necessary to draw on various institutional sources (e.g., the National Statistical Institute - INE -, the Foreigners and Borders Office and the Department of Statistics of the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity), it was often difficult or impossible to compare some of

the variables across time and space. On the one hand, the information that could be gathered and that was provided by these institutions corresponds to various different years of the 1990's, as well as to data from the 2001 Population Census. On the other hand, the various information providers do not use the same geographical system of disaggregation. In some instances, the information is only available at the macro-regional level (NUT II - Lisbon and Tejo Valley), whereas in other cases the units used are the *districts* (an old statistical division used up until the end of the 1990's by the Foreigners and Borders Office)³. Only in a few cases (foreign population, some of the housing data), mostly corresponding to the 1991 and 2001 Census data, has it been possible to obtain information for the municipalities that integrate the official Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA). One other problem with the statistical information collected by the Foreigners and Borders Office (SEF) and rendered publicly available by the National Statistical Institute (INE) is the fact that it is impossible to cross variables because the database does not include such comparisons and does not take into account relevant demographic, social and economic factors such as age, level of education, professional skills or the rate of unemployment. The data includes foreign citizens (whether or not they are immigrants), excluding both the children of foreign citizens born within the national territory and the immigrants who have obtained the Portuguese nationality.

Moreover, there are difficulties involved in rendering compatible and comparing the data from the Population Census and from the Foreigners and Borders Office because the methods and criteria used by these two sources in collecting the information are different. The following situations exemplify these differences: 1) the Foreigners and Borders Office collects the data at the time of the foreigners' arrival, whereas the Census takes place throughout the country on a specific date; 2) the Census data may include immigrants in an illegal situation and exclude those immigrants in a legal situation who did not answer the Census questionnaire; conversely, the data collected by the SEF only includes legal immigrants.

³ As we shall see in chapter 1, the Lisbon and Setúbal districts correspond, to a large extent, to the present Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

Apart from the statistical information provided by the sources mentioned above, data from academic research, reports and evaluation papers of social and economic development programmes prepared by the EU, national government, municipalities and non-profit organisations were also used in this research.

In the latter stage of the research within the ambit of this project, data collected directly, both qualitative and quantitative, shall be used. The qualitative component shall involve the use of focus groups, migration life-stories and in-depth interviews with relevant informers in state institutions (at both the national and the local levels), political parties, trade unions, charitable organisations, immigrant associations, NGOs and pressure groups concerned with migrant issues. The quantitative component shall include structured questionnaires.

The authors would like to thank Alexandre Abreu for his help in the revision of the English version of the reseent study.

I. THE LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA AND ITS FEATURES: POPULATION, ECONOMY AND URBAN RESTRUCTURING

1. Population and urban growth

Besides being the seat of the national political power, the city of Lisbon is also the centre of a metropolitan area that is the largest demographic concentration and the main focus of economic activity in Portugal. The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is made up of 19 municipalities in both banks of the Tejo river⁴. There are 10 municipalities in the North bank and 9 in the South bank (Fig. 1). By 2001, there were 2,682,687 inhabitants (25.9% of Portugal's resident population) living in 4,643.26 Km² (5.2% of the national territory), which is equivalent to an average population density of 577.75 inhabitants per Km².

Between 1991 and 2001, the resident population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area grew at a slightly higher rate than that of the country as a whole (5.6 % and 5.0%, respectively) - a fact that shall be analysed further on and which is partly a consequence of the growing immigration of foreign citizens.

The distribution of the population in the metropolitan territory is quite uneven: 21.1% live in the Lisbon municipality, 52.3% in the suburban municipalities in the North Bank of the Tejo and 26.6% in the Setúbal Peninsula (South Bank of the Tejo).

⁴The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) was created in 1991, in the form of a special type of two-tier municipal association – the Metropolitan Assembly and the Metropolitan Board, both made up of indirectly elected councillors. However, the actual power of these two organs is very limited. The most important administrative unit is the municipality and the main policy decisions regarding the LMA – in the areas of transport, education, health, housing, environmental protection, energy, culture, etc. – are made by the central government.

Fig. 1- The Lisbon Metropolitan Area



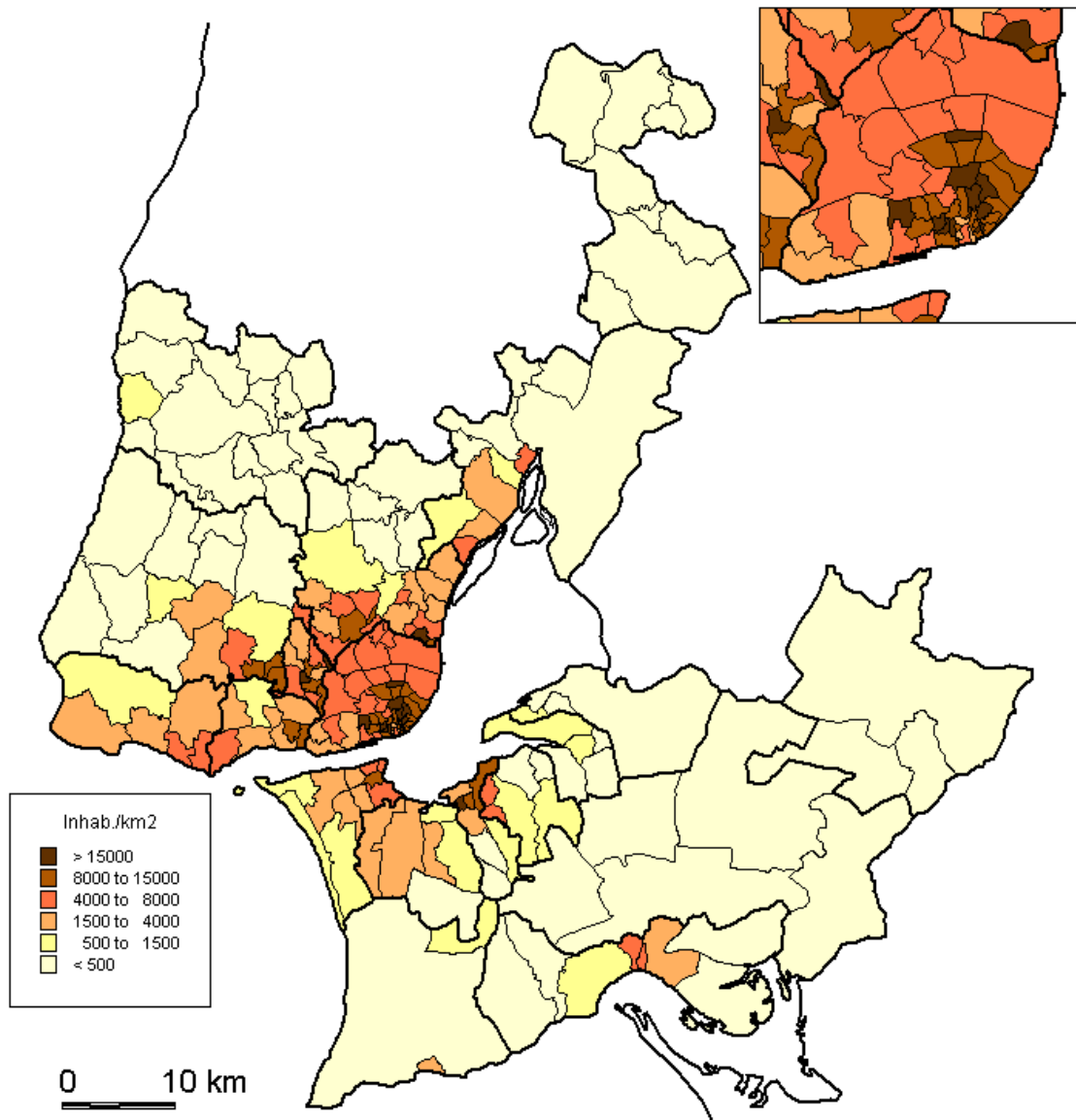
Lisbon's suburban growth took place alongside the development of the transport infrastructure, which has reflected upon the difference in the shape of its urbanised areas: in the north bank, these areas have a “bird paw”-like shape, in which the fingers correspond to the railway lines and to the main road axes (Cascais, Sintra, Loures and Vila Franca de Xira); in the Setúbal Peninsula, the reliance upon fluvial transport to get to Lisbon, before the 25th April bridge was built in 1966, led to a ring-like urbanisation process, parallel to the river (Fonseca, 1990; Fonseca, 1999). However, from the mid 1980's onwards, along with the consolidation and expansion of the river-side ring (Almada-Alcochete), there has clearly been a significant growth along the Setúbal-Montijo/Alcochete axis. This central corridor runs parallel to the old EN 252 road and was reinforced after the Vasco da Gama bridge, linking Alcochete to Lisbon, was built in 1998. The cartography of the population density by parishes (*freguesias*) in 2001 (Fig. 2) illustrates the urban shape of the metropolitan area that we have just presented. To the North of the Tejo, the most densely urbanized areas consist of a ring of parishes in the municipalities around the city of Lisbon and a

number of extensions along the railway lines and the most important road axes: Costa do Sol, Amadora-Queluz-Sintra, Odivelas-Loures and Sacavém-Vila Franca de Xira. In the South bank, Tejo's riverside ring stands out, as do the parishes that correspond to the urban perimeter of Setúbal and the Castelo parish in Sesimbra.

As we can see in Fig. 2, despite the recent demographic growth in many of the parishes, the demographic density in most of them is still much lower than in the Metropolitan Area as a whole. There are still, particularly in the municipalities of Palmela, Sesimbra, Alcochete, Montijo, Mafra, Azambuja and Vila Franca de Xira, vast rural areas with a much lower number of inhabitants per km² than is the case in the whole of the Metropolitan Area. In 2001, the densities in some of the parishes were in fact lower than the national average: Canha, Santo Isidro de Pegões and Pegões in Montijo; Marateca and Poceirão in Palmela; Gaio-Rosário in Moita; Cachoeiras and Vila Franca in Vila Franca de Xira; Sobral da Abelheira, Santo Estêvão das Galés, Igreja Nova and Enxara do Bispo in Mafra; as well as all the parishes of the Azambuja municipality except for Aveiras de Cima and Vale do Paraíso. However, over the last few years, the improvement in the transportation infrastructure of the region has been visible in the increasing urban pressure upon these territories, which has led to the creation of new residential areas, both permanent and secondary.

This chaotic process of urbanization – characterized by both high and low densities – has reflected upon the promiscuity between urban and rural landscapes and in an urban fabric lacking in connectivity, which is due to the increasing use of private means of transportation. The increasing degree of urbanization of the metropolitan territory, both through the expansion of the consolidated urban areas with high densities and the diffusion of low density areas, scattered throughout the metropolitan territory and mainly destined for seasonal or secondary use, has had a highly negative environmental impact. This impact has been due to the reliance upon the individual automobile transportation, with all its negative effects (energy consumption, traffic jams, parking problems, time spent commuting, pollution, etc.), but also to the fact that this process has destroyed some very fragile ecologic equilibria, by causing the impermeabilization of the soils, the degradation of underground sources of water, the pollution of water streams, conflicts with farming uses, etc.

Fig. 2. Population Density in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 2001



The increase in mobility, made possible by the spectacular rise in the number of private cars and by the huge investments made since the mid-1980's in transportation infrastructures, namely in road and rail structures⁵, allowed for

⁵ Among the transportation infrastructures built in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area since the 1980's, the following are especially worthy of mention: the expansion of the subway network, the construction of a new bridge destined for car traffic over the river Tejo (the Vasco da Gama bridge), the railroad crossing in the 25th April bridge, the construction of two regional by-passes

a better integration of the metropolitan region by shortening the distances from the furthest municipalities to Lisbon, while on the other hand bringing about a process of territorial fragmentation, by defining new central areas and by marginalizing the areas with little accessibility and with the worst equipment and infrastructures (Salgueiro, 2001; Salgueiro *et al.*, 1997).

The distribution of “conventional dwellings” according to the time in which they were built is a good indicator of the process of urban expansion that has taken place in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Table 1, Fig. 3). The first conclusion that can be drawn from Table 1 is that in Lisbon, as in fact in Portugal as a whole, dwellings are in general quite recent: 60.5% of the dwellings were built after 1970 and 18.3% after 1990. For Portugal as a whole, due to the enormous increase in the number of seasonal or secondary dwellings - in the coastal areas and in the municipalities located in the Northern interior and in the Centre which were more deeply affected by emigration and by the migration to Lisbon in the 1960’s and early 1970’s -, the equivalent figures are in fact even higher: 63.2% e 21.7%, respectively.

Table 1 – Distribution of family dwellings, according to the period in which they were built (2001)

Geographic units	Peroid of construction (%)					
	Before 1919	From 1919 to 1945	From 1946 to 1970	From 1971 to 1990	From 1991 to 2001	Total
Portugal	5,94	8,46	22,89	39,86	22,85	100,00
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	3,61	6,51	28,77	40,94	20,18	100,00
North bank	4,28	7,51	30,05	39,23	18,93	100,00
South bank	1,85	3,90	25,45	45,38	23,42	100,00

Source: INE – 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

As might be expected, there is a higher percentage of old buildings in the North and South bank municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area than in the Setúbal Peninsula - not only because the city of Lisbon is the municipality which has the highest percentage of family dwellings built before 1919 (10.3 %) and between 1919 and the end of World War II (17.3%), but also because the river

(CRIL and CREL), the North-South axis, the A12 Highway in the Setúbal Peninsula and some major upgrade and repair works in the rail and car axes connecting Lisbon and the suburbs.

Tejo was, until the construction of the first bridge in 1966, a major barrier to the urban expansion in the Setúbal Peninsula. Therefore, in the North Bank, even without taking into account the city of Lisbon, the average age of the housing structures is slightly higher than in the South Bank. In the latter, by 2001, some 20.8% of the family dwellings were built after 1990 and 67.4% in the last two decades, whereas in the North Bank the equivalent figures were 16.5% and 60.6%, respectively.

In a more detailed analysis by municipalities (Fig. 3 and 4), it is possible to see that in Sesimbra, Alcochete, Sintra, Mafra and Palmela, the residential units built in the last decade amount to around one third of the total. In the city of Lisbon and in the municipalities of the first suburban ring that went through the earlier suburbanization process, the percentage of more recent residential buildings is much lower than in the Metropolitan Area as a whole. In the 70's and 80's, the development of new residential areas took place, in the South Bank, mainly towards the municipalities of Seixal and, in the North Bank, along the Estoril Railway Line/Cascais highway, Odivelas-Loures and Sacavém-Vila Franca de Xira.

In the municipalities located further away from Lisbon and with the worst accessibility, the percentage of dwellings built in the 70's and 80's was lower than the average for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Table 1, Fig. 4).

Fig. 3. Distribution of the family dwellings built between 1991 and 2001

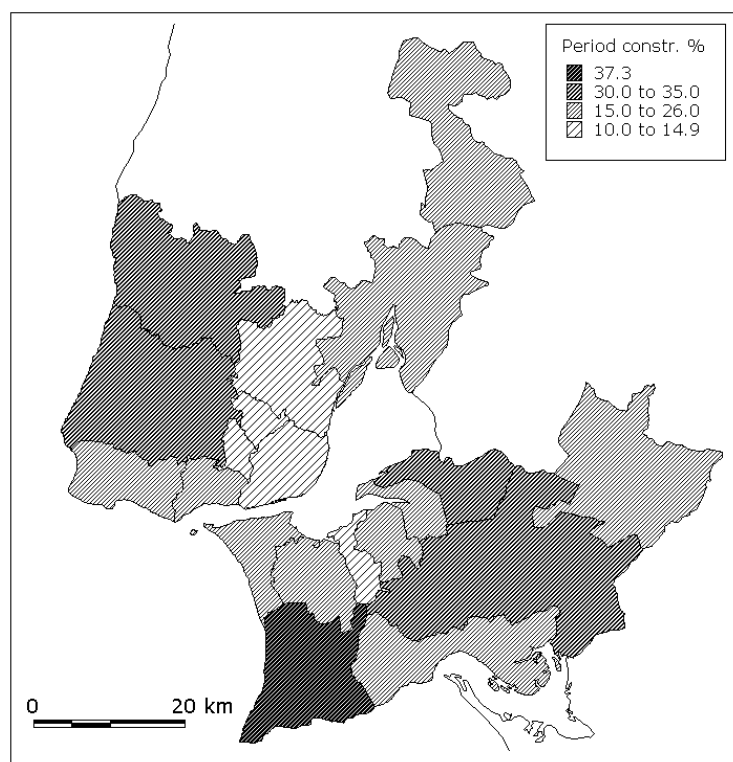
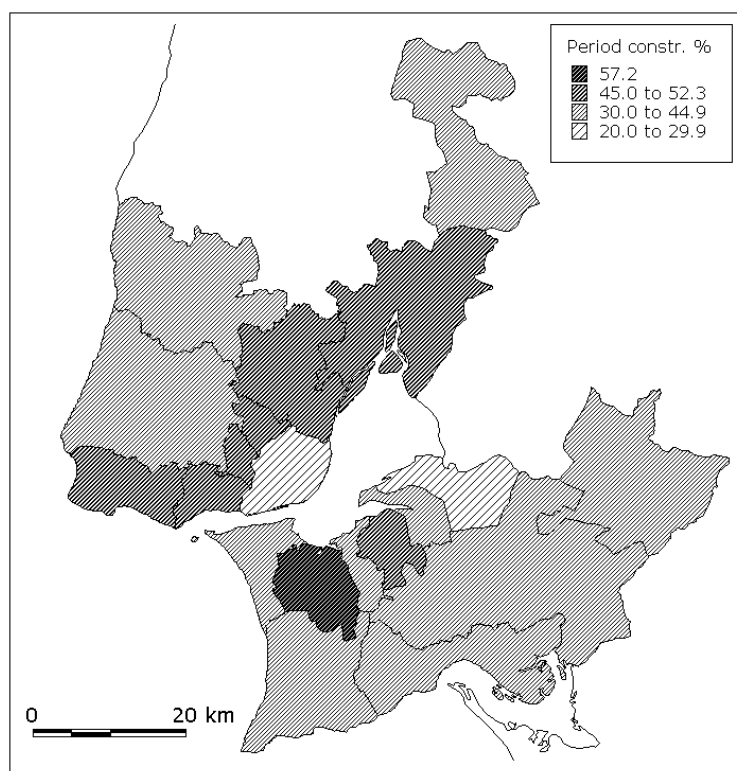


Fig. 4. Distribution of the family dwellings built between 1971 and 1990



In a context of slow demographic growth, the increase in the income of the middle class families, largely due to the greater participation of women in the labour market, has allowed for some investment in secondary homes. As a consequence, a substantial part of the buildings that have recently been built near the seaside and in the areas with a deep rural landscape consist of secondary houses.

By 2001, as Table 2 clearly illustrates, 12.6% of the 1,291,652 family dwellings in the LMA were destined for seasonal or secondary occupation. As we have already mentioned, the equivalent figure for the country as a whole is considerably higher, reaching 18.4% out of a total 5,019,425 classic dwellings. It is in the North Bank municipalities of the Lisbon region that one finds 61.6% of the secondary dwellings located in the Metropolitan Area. However, their relative weight is higher in the Setúbal Peninsula, since they amount to 17.5% of all the dwellings, as opposed to a mere 10.8% in the North Bank municipalities.

Table 2 – Family dwellings according to the occupation regime, 2001

Geographic units	Occupation regime (%)							
	Permanent residence		Seasonal or secondary housing		Empty		Total	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Portugal	3551229	70.75	924419	18.42	543777	10.83	5019425	100.00
Lisbon Metrop. Area	978027	75.72	163314	12.64	150311	11.64	1291652	100.00
North bank	721181	77.30	100634	10.79	111108	11.91	932923	100.00
South bank	256846	71.60	62680	17.47	39203	10.93	358729	100.00

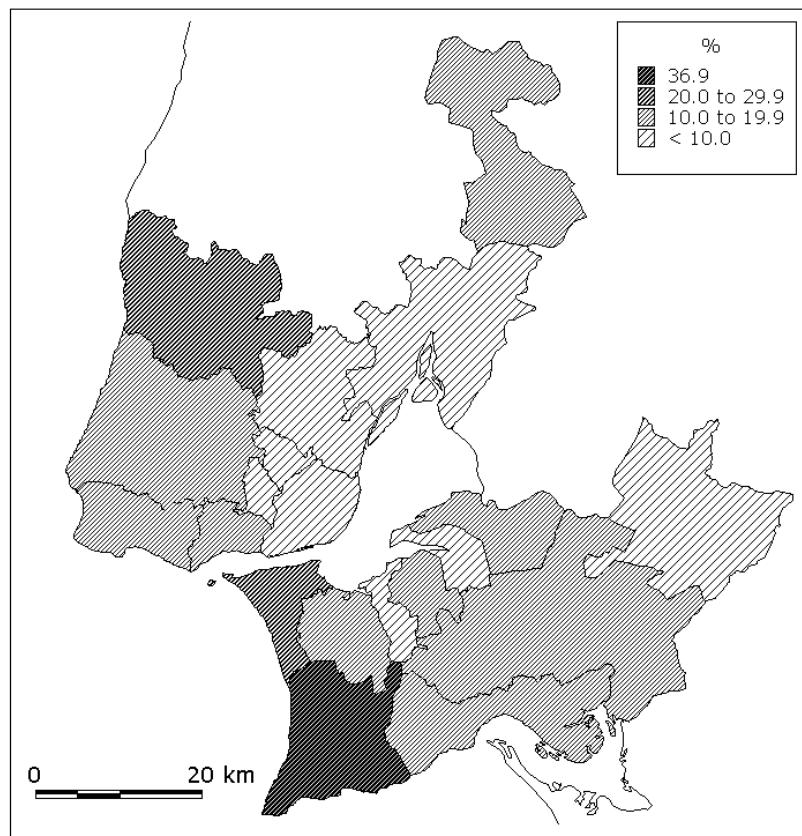
Source: INE – 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

In a more disaggregated spatial analysis, one finds that the municipalities with the highest percentage of secondary dwellings are Sesimbra, Mafra and Almada. All of these municipalities have vast coastal extensions, attractive beaches and large areas of relatively low population density (Fig. 5).

Cascais, Seixal, Palmela and Azambuja, albeit for different reasons, also have a relatively high percentage of seasonal dwellings (between 15 and 20%), as compared to the urban municipalities of the Lisbon area. In the case of Cascais, the number of weekend dwellings has to do with a long-standing

tradition of touristic and leisure activities in the Sun Coast (Costa do Sol). In Seixal, the increase in the number of secondary homes is closely linked with the phenomenon of illegal housing, which has allowed for considerably lower prices than those practised in the formal housing market in the areas near Costa da Caparica and Sesimbra. In Palmela, the increase in the number of secondary houses took place somewhat later than in Seixal and was due to the scenic beauty of the area, its tradition of there being some ancient leisure estates and the richness of its built environment. Finally, in the case of Azambuja, the increase in secondary housing that took place during the past decade has largely been due to the fact that this area combines many of the attractive features of the rural areas and a good accessibility to Lisbon, while the prices for land have remained substantially lower than in the coastal areas.

Fig. 5 – Secondary and seasonal dwellings



The demographic trends of the 1990's were akin to those of the 1980's, persistently bringing about a demographic decline in the city (Lisbon) and in

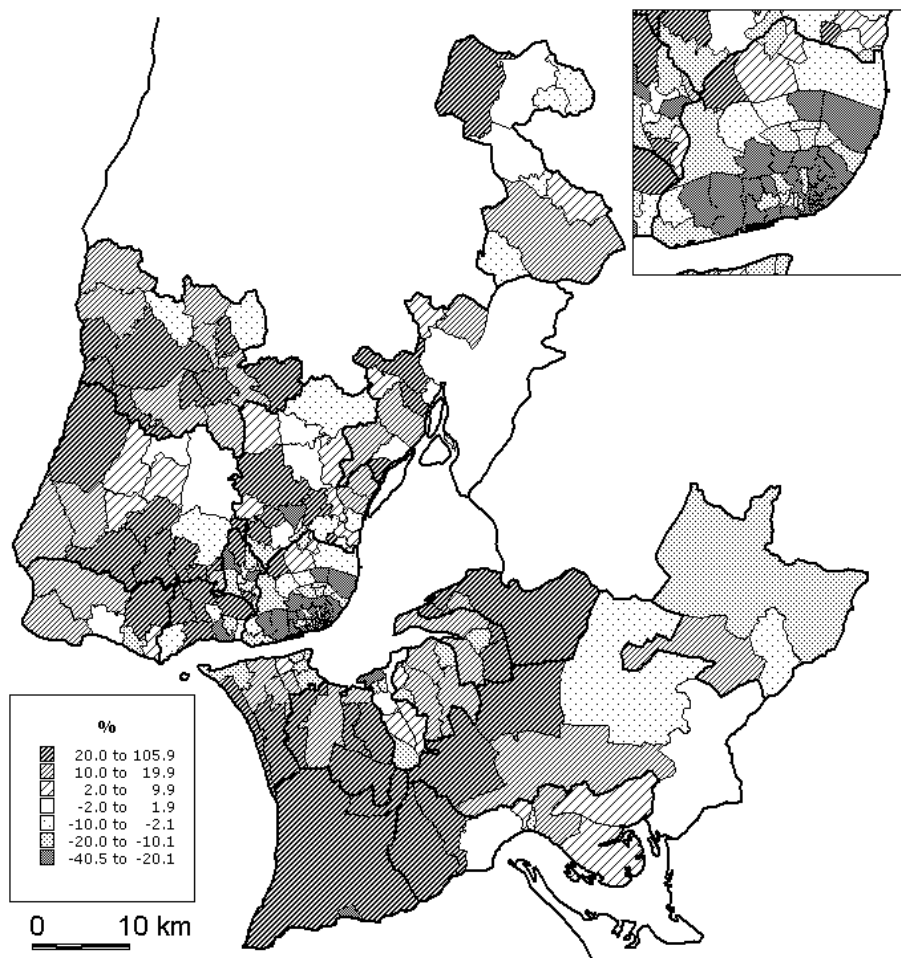
some of the parishes (*freguesias*) of the first suburban ring - namely in the municipalities of Amadora, Oeiras, Cascais, Loures, Odivelas, Almada and Barreiro -, as well as the expansion of urban areas increasingly further from the capital, following a territorial pattern structured along the main transportation axes (Fig. 6).

The Lisbon municipality underwent a significant demographic decline, losing 98,737 inhabitants between 1991 and 2001 (14.9%), while the other municipalities of the Metropolitan Area experienced a 12.9% growth. The decrease in the number of inhabitants of the city, which has mostly been due to the active young people moving to the suburbs, has been reinforced by the tertiarization of the central areas and by the exponential increase in the prices of land in the more central and noble areas.

In the last decade, only in four parishes of the city of Lisbon was there a population increase: Carnide, Lumiar and Charneca in the Northern periphery of Lisbon, and Encarnação in a historic neighbourhood (Bairro Alto) located on the edge of the city's traditional centre⁶ (Fig. 6). The growth of the former three was due to intense processes of urbanization, promoted by both private and public capital, in certain vacant areas where once used to be old rural estates. The latter – Bairro Alto – is an altogether different case, showing early signs of a process of urban revitalization and gentrification. The desertification of the city centre, besides having a significant impact upon demographic ageing, concentration of service sector employment, increase in daily commuting, traffic jams, real estate speculation and the expansion of residential suburbia that are extremely dependent upon Lisbon in terms of services and employment, has also had some very important consequences in terms of the rise in crime and insecurity, particularly during the night, in the deserted areas of the centre (CML, 1992).

⁶ With 3,182 inhabitants in 2002, the Encarnação parish has undergone a population growth of 110 people in the last decade.

Fig. 6 – Lisbon Metropolitan Area: population growth (1991-2001)



The most striking feature of Figure 6 is the demographic decline of the areas that are either the most remote or which have bad accesses to Lisbon, weak economic dynamics, increasingly ageing populations or which maintain strong rural characteristics. Included in this category are the parishes of Canha, Afonsoeiro and Pegões (Montijo municipality), Poceirão (Palmela municipality), Vale Paraíso, Vila Nova da Rainha and Vila Nova de São Pedro (Azambuja municipality), Enxara do Bispo and Sobral da Abelheira (Mafra municipality) and Bucelas (Loures municipality).

Alongside the changes in the demographic evolution and in the geographical distribution of the resident population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, there have been some profound changes in the age and family structures of those living in the region. The tendency towards demographic ageing has been reinforced, both at the base and at the top of the age pyramid. There has

been an increase in the number of people over 65 years of age (32.3%) and a decrease in the number of youngsters (–12.9%). As compared with the country as a whole, it is worthwhile stressing that the degree of ageing at the top of the age pyramid in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is lower than the national average; however, the situation is quite the opposite at the base. The percentage of youngsters is lower than in the whole of the national territory (Table 3).

Table 3 – Age structure of the population living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Portugal, 1991 and 2001

Geographic units	Age groups (%)					
	0-14		15-64		65 or more	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Lisbon	14.22	11.61	67.01	64.78	18.78	23.61
Northern bank	17.61	14.71	69.60	69.46	12.79	15.83
Northern bank without Lisbon	19.43	15.96	70.99	71.35	9.58	12.70
Southern bank	19.30	15.34	69.80	70.32	10.90	14.33
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	18.03	14.88	69.65	69.69	12.32	15.43
Portugal	19.99	16.00	66.40	67.65	13.61	16.35

Source: INE – 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

Within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, this process of demographic ageing has been particularly active in the North Bank municipalities. That has especially been the case in the Lisbon municipality, where the elderly population accounts for 23.6% of all the residents, whereas the young people account for a mere 11.6%.

The city of Lisbon differs from the other municipalities of the metropolitan area in what regards the high proportion of elderly inhabitants (almost one quarter of the total population) and its low proportion of young people (11.6%), which indicate a higher degree of ageing than is the case in the whole of the national territory.

The evolution of the demographic structure of the various municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is closely associated with their rates of demographic growth and, therefore, with the intra-metropolitan patterns of residential mobility. Thus, the municipalities that have undergone the largest

demographic increases, because of young couples looking for housing in the suburbs, are also those in which there is relative over-representation of the population inside the working age, particularly between 25 and 45 years of age. On the contrary, in the city of Lisbon and in the older urban nuclei of the suburban areas, there is a higher percentage of elderly inhabitants than in the whole of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

Not only has the demographic structure of the region changed, there has also been some major changes in the size, composition and social functions of the families. The increasing participation of women in the labour market, the decreasing birth rates, the increasing life expectancy and the growing tendency towards an increase in the number of divorces and *de facto* unions have had some important implications in terms of the social functions of the family, the division of domestic tasks and the relationships between different generations. Moreover, all these changes have been felt in the housing market as well, not only because they have tended to generate greater residential mobility but also because they have induced an increase in the demand for housing for small families, which quite often consist of just one person.

According to the conclusions reached in the 2001 Population Census, the average family size in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is smaller than in the rest of the country (Table 4). Small families predominate (20.9% consist of just one person and 55.5% of one or two people), and those consisting of five or more members are rare (just 6.7%).

Table 4 – Distribution of the families living in Portugal and in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area according to the number of members, 2001

Geographic units	1 person %	2 people %	3 people %	4 people %	5 people or more %	Total %
Portugal	17.30	28.39	25.17	19.68	9.46	100.0
Lisbon	30.55	31.02	19.57	12.66	6.20	100.0
North bank	22.11	29.98	24.66	16.61	6.64	100.0
North bank excluding Lisbon	18.27	29.51	26.97	18.40	6.84	100.0
South bank	17.30	30.43	27.45	18.15	6.67	100.0
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	20.86	30.10	25.39	17.01	6.65	100.0
Portugal	17.30	28.39	25.17	19.68	9.46	100.00

Source: INE – 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

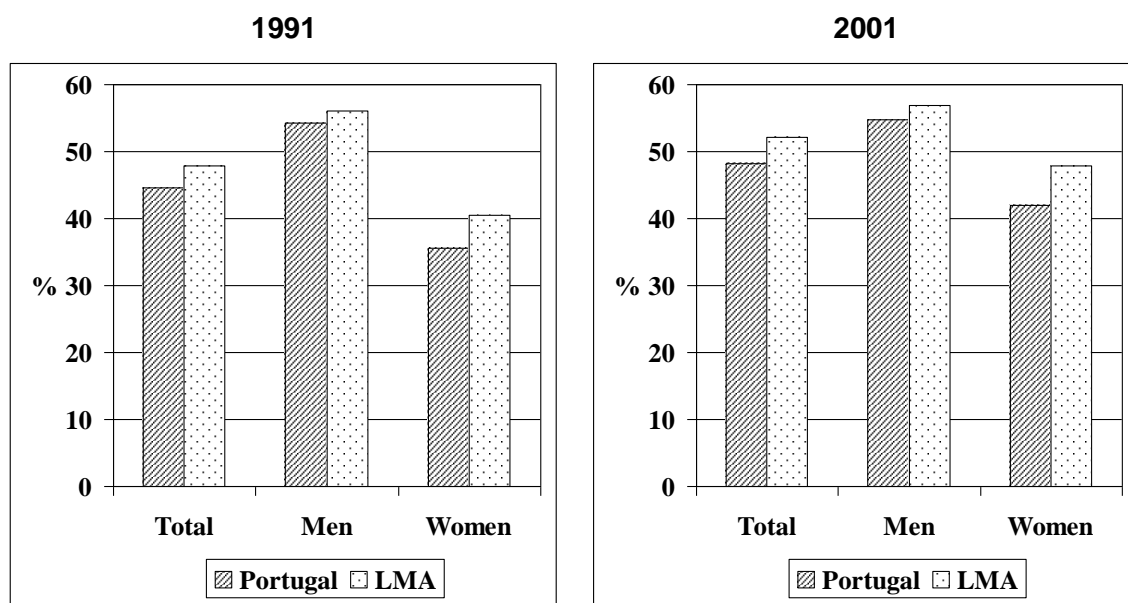
In the city of Lisbon, the proportion of families that consist of one single member is slightly higher (30.5%) than in the other municipalities of the Metropolitan Area. Three sets of factors concur to explain this: first, the high percentage of elderly people; second, the fact that the city is often chosen by economic migrants, who settle temporarily in pensions and rented rooms, as their first stop; and, finally, the fact that there are numerous university students that come from other regions in Portugal, who settle in Lisbon in order to live close to their college and to take advantage of all the leisure activities offered in the city.

2. Productive and labour market restructuring

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area is the main national focus of economic activity. In 2001, it accounted for 28.1% of the active population in the Portuguese territory. The global, male and female activity rates were 52.2%, 56.9% and 46.7%, respectively - all of which were higher than the corresponding figures for Portugal, which were 48.2%, 54.8% and 42.0%. The major difference with regard to the country as a whole had to do with the female activity rate (a 4.7% difference), which shows that the feminization of employment is one aspect that clearly distinguishes the Metropolitan Area from the rest of the country.

Between 1991 and 2001, the activity rates of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area evolved in very much the same way as those of the rest of the country (Fig. 7). The total activity rate increased by 4.3%, mainly due to the growing participation of women in the labour market. Women account for an ever-increasing share of the active population: 44.1% in 1991, 47.7% in 2001.

Fig. 7 - Activity rates: Portugal and the LMA



The employment rate (the ratio between the employed population and the total population over 15 years of age) has also increased, despite the differences in the age criteria used in the 1991 and 2001 census. In the 1991 Census, the notion of active population included all those over 12 years of age, but that lower limit went up to 15 years in the 2001 census. Both in 1991 and in 2001, the employment rates in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area were higher than the national average (Table 5).

In a gender-disaggregated analysis, one also finds that, at both of these times, the percentage of men old enough to work who did in fact perform some professional activity was higher than that for the women. However, that difference has slowly been on the decrease - the tendency is for male and female activity rates to grow increasingly closer (Table 5).

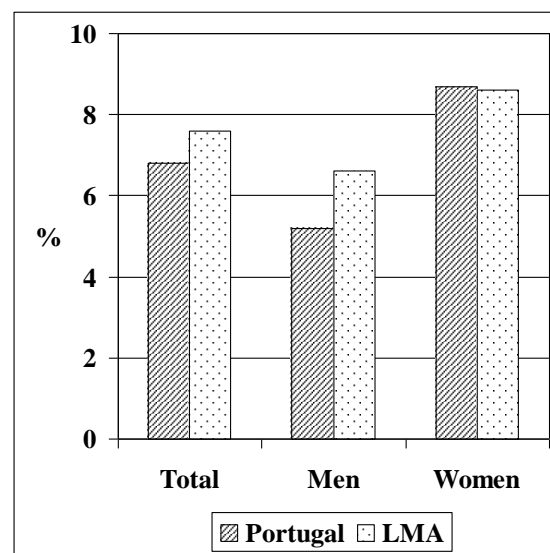
Table 5 - Activity and employment rates in Portugal and in the LMA, 1991 and 2001

	1991		2001	
	Portugal	LMA	Portugal	LMA
Total activity rate	44.6	47.9	48.2	52.2
Male activity rate	54.3	56.0	54.8	56.9
Female activity rate	35.5	40.5	42.0	47.8
Total employment rate	52.3	53.9	53.5	56.7
Male employment rate	66.1	65.5	62.6	64.5
Female employment rate	39.9	43.6	45.1	51.8

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Census; calculations by the authors.

According to the 2001 census, the unemployment rate in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area was higher than the national average: 7.6, as compared to 6.8%. However, it is important to stress that the female unemployment rate in the LMA, although higher than the male unemployment rate, was very similar to that for the country as a whole (Fig. 8). This fact had certainly to do with the wider employment opportunities available for women in the Lisbon area, together with the greater predominance of the service sector in the Lisbon Region⁷.

Fig. 8 - Unemployment rate in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Portugal, 2001



⁷ In the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, women accounted in 2001 for 47.2% of the total active resident population and for 54.3% of the working population of the tertiary sector. In the “education” and “health and social security” subsectors, the rate of feminization of the employed population reached, respectively, 76.4% e 77.8%.

By 2001, trade and services were the main sectors of economic activity, accounting for 74.7% of the working population living in the region, whereas in the national territory as a whole the tertiary sector accounted for just 59.9% of the resident population. Roughly a quarter of the labour force living in the LMA was employed in the secondary sector – 13.4% in manufacture and 9.7% in construction. As for agriculture and fishing, their weight was in fact residual: a mere 1% and 0,2%, respectively, of the active population (Table 6).

Table 6 – Sectoral Structure of the Active Population, 1991 and 2001

%

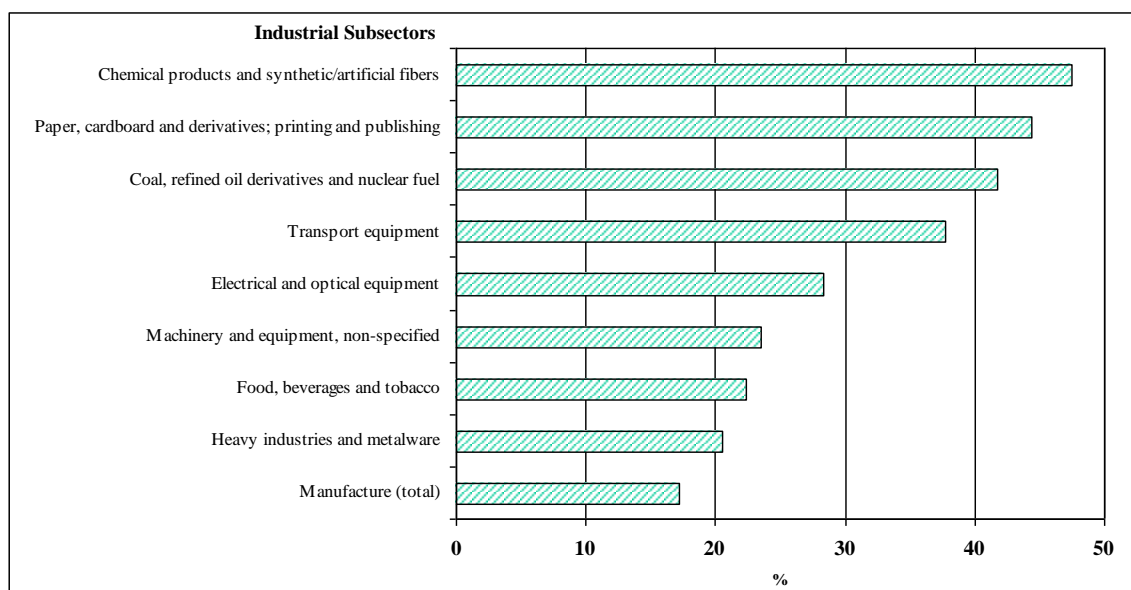
Geographic units	Total	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary		
				Total	Social Services	Business Services
1991						
Lisbon	100,00	0,39	20,07	79,54	27,21	52,32
Northern LMA	100,00	1,17	26,56	72,28	23,83	48,44
Setúbal Peninsula	100,00	4,00	34,10	61,90	22,30	39,61
LMA	100,00	1,84	28,35	69,81	23,47	46,34
Portugal	100,00	10,79	37,87	51,34	17,44	33,90
LMA as a % of the country as a whole	27,20	4,64	20,36	36,98	36,59	37,18
2001						
Lisbon	100,00	0,48	16,22	83,31	35,64	47,66
Northern LMA	100,00	0,82	22,57	76,61	30,73	45,88
Setúbal Peninsula	100,00	2,25	28,62	69,13	29,43	39,70
LMA	100,00	1,19	24,13	74,69	30,40	44,29
Portugal	100,00	4,98	35,10	59,92	25,54	34,38
LMA as a % of the country as a whole	27,82	6,63	19,12	34,68	33,12	35,84

Source: INE - 1991 and 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

Despite the fact that the pattern of productive specialization of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is increasingly based in the service sector, the manufacturing industries of this region still account for a significant part of the Portuguese

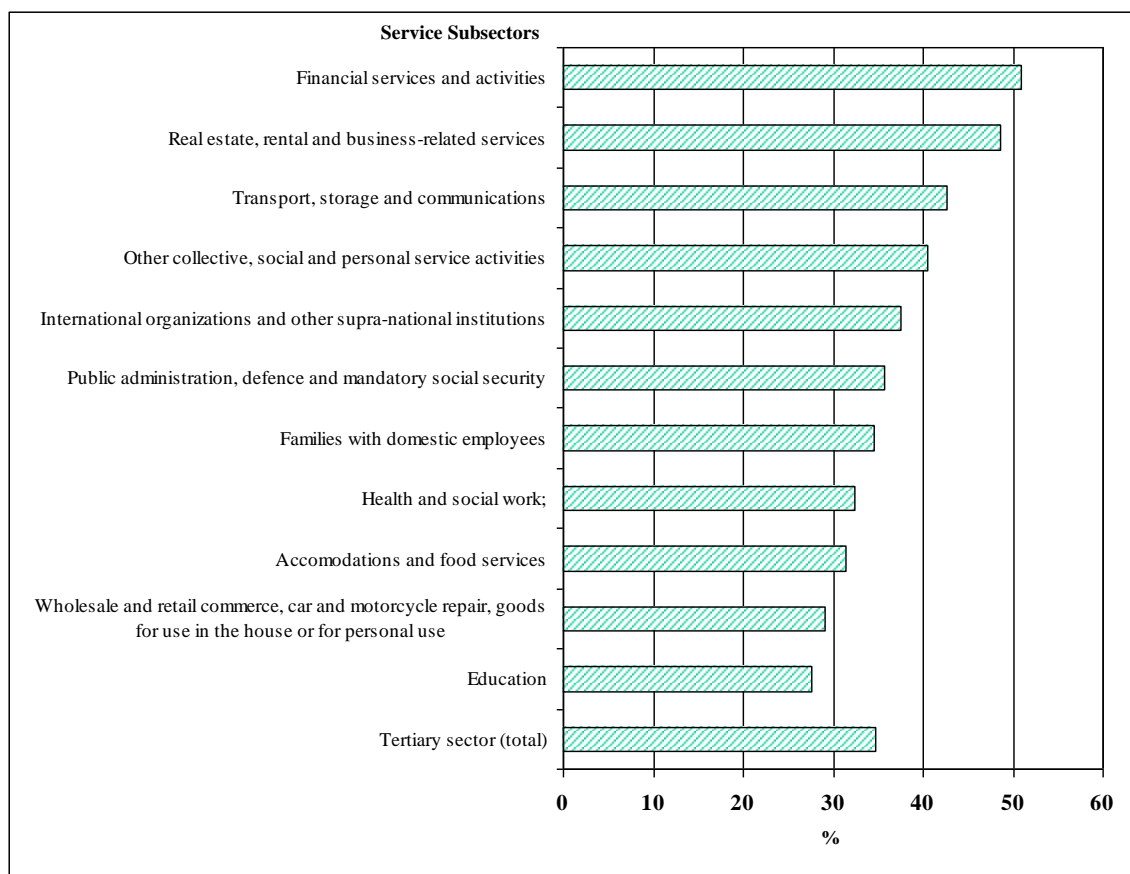
manufacturing industry. By 2001, 17.2% of the workers of this sector were concentrated in the region. Among the most relevant industries of the Lisbon region are the chemistry filière and the paper and pulp, graphic arts, printing and publishing, food processing, metalware, heavy machinery and transport equipment industries (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9 - Percentage of the active population working in manufacture who live in the LMA, out of the nation's total, 2001



In the tertiary sector, business services stand out, accounting for 57.2% of the active population employed in this sector. With regard to the rest of the country, it is worth pointing out that some activities are extremely concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. That is particularly the case with financial services, real estate, business-support services and transport and communications and, to a lesser extent, with the public administration, defence and social security sub-sectors (Fig. 10). From 1991 to 2001, there was, however, a decrease in the level of concentration of the trade and services activities in the Lisbon region, which was due to the improvements made in the regional coverage of the social services and to the rise in the level of consumption of the Portuguese families.

Fig. 10 - Percentage of the active population working in the tertiary sector who live in the LMA, out of the nation's total, 2001



In what regards the workers' professional status in 2001, there was a clear predominance of wage earners - approximately 85%, as compared to 81.6% for the country as a whole. Various factors explain this difference: 1) the significant presence of major firms in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area; 2) the high relative weight of the civil servants that work for the central administration in the city of Lisbon; 3) the still relatively high percentage of farmers and small entrepreneurs, with or without wage-earning employees, in the Northern and Central parts of the country.

Between 1991 and 2001, alongside the growth in the service activities and the process of industrial restructuring that took place, there were some very important changes in the structure of the business fabric (the relative weight of the SME's having increased significantly) and in the location patterns of economic activity. The percentage of self-employed workers decreased, as did

that of the unpaid family workers. On the contrary, the proportion of employers and wage-earning employees has increased (Table 7). On the other hand, employment has become increasingly precarious, which is clearly visible in the higher number of workers that hold temporary contracts and other informal labour contracts - particularly in the personal/domestic services and construction sectors, in which immigrants and ethnic minorities are largely over-represented (Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiros, 1999; Malheiros, 1998).

Table 7 – Employed active population according to professional status, 1991 and 2001 (%)

Geographic unit	Employers	Self-employed workers	Unpaid family workers	Wage-earning workers	Members of Cooperatives	Other	Total
2001							
Northern LMA	9,35	4,22	0,29	84,90	0,09	1,15	100,00
Setúbal Peninsula	9,45	4,85	0,35	84,10	0,09	1,16	100,00
LMA	9,38	4,38	0,30	84,70	0,09	1,15	100,00
Portugal	10,29	6,32	0,77	81,57	0,07	0,97	100,00
1991							
Northern LMA	5,94	8,75	0,53	83,28	0,14	1,36	100,00
Setúbal Peninsula	5,05	10,03	0,64	82,37	0,23	1,68	100,00
LMA	5,73	9,05	0,55	83,06	0,16	1,43	100,00
Portugal	6,42	13,52	1,96	76,74	0,16	1,20	100,00

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

With regard to the territorial pattern of economic activity – not unlike what took place earlier on in other European and American metropolises – it is worth pointing out that several residential complexes and/or services and commerce areas have been created where there once were some of the old harbours and industrial areas⁸ of the city and of the other municipalities of its adjacent suburban ring. New industrial nuclei were created, especially in the Sintra, Mafra and Palmela municipalities, taking advantage of the abundance of available land and labour, as well as of the improved accesses to this area. Hence, outside the capital itself, three particularly important industrial areas are worthy of mention: the Setúbal Peninsula, the Amadora - Sintra axis, including

⁸ The urban intervention carried out in the EXPO'98 area – in the Eastern part of the city – is a paradigmatic example of this type of transformation.

some areas in the municipalities of Oeiras and Cascais, and the Tagus Valley, including the eastern part of the Loures municipality, the Vila Franca de Xira municipality, the Carregado area and the Azambuja municipality (Fonseca, 1998, p. 160). These new industrial areas originated in different ways: in some cases – particularly within the city itself –, following the relocation of previously existing businesses; in other, resulting from new investments with the aim of creating new industrial districts in upgraded urban surroundings. In the industrial districts of this newer type, one often finds not only the production units themselves, but also storehouses, offices and support services, aimed both at the companies and at their employees, clients and suppliers (Barata Salgueiro, 2001, p. 146).

The territorial pattern of economic activity in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area has been closely linked with the development of the transportation network. Thus, the level of concentration in the Lisbon municipality is still very high, both in terms of employment and of gross value added.

As far as the service sector is concerned, despite a noticeable increase in the active population working in the trade and services sector in all the municipalities that belong to Lisbon Metropolitan Area, more than half of the total number of jobs in this sector were still concentrated in the Lisbon municipality – according to estimates published in the *Lisbon Strategic Plan* (*Plano Estratégico de Lisboa*) in the beginning of the 1990's. Therefore, the tertiarization of the active population of the other municipalities of the metropolitan territory has often been due, above all else, to the suburban expansion of the city of Lisbon, further and further away from the centre. This would not have been possible had it not been for the improvements in the accessibility network and for the stimulating effect of there being a considerable supply of housing, at much lower prices than is the case in the capital, in certain suburban areas that, while being close to the city, offer both scenic beauty and attractive social and cultural environments.

Despite the fact that employment in the LMA is highly concentrated in the city of Lisbon, there was, in the 1990's, a steady increase in trade, accommodation and food service activities, as well as in collective and personal services, in the city's immediate periphery, particularly in the North bank of the Tejo. This fact, which has been closely associated with the decline in industrial

employment, is noticeable in Lisbon's decreasing weight in the total employment generated in the Metropolitan Area (53.1% in 1991, 46.9% in 1997). In the same period, the relative weight of the municipalities of the Northern part of Greater Lisbon (excluding Lisbon itself) increased from 30.9% to 36.1%. In the Setúbal Peninsula, there was also a huge expansion of employment in the service sector. Nevertheless, the Public Administration, the cultural services and the business and producer services remain highly concentrated in the city of Lisbon, even though their centre of gravity has moved up North and into the Marquês de Pombal-Avenidas Novas area. At the same time, as stated in Teresa Barata Salgueiro (2001, p. 155), a number of new office districts have appeared, along a discontinuous outer ring that stretches from the Amoreiras to the area of the Colombo shopping centre, along the Av. José Malhoa, Praça de Espanha, Av. dos Combatentes and North – South axis up until the Segunda Circular and, in the Eastern part of the city, in the Expo'98 area of intervention and its surroundings. Outside of the city, other office districts have appeared, often as a result of foreign direct investments – especially in the Oeiras municipality, by the Cascais highway.

Retail commerce has also undergone some major changes, in terms of business structure and territorial pattern. The tendency towards the commercial decline of the historical centre has persisted, alongside the emergence of new commercial areas, shopping centres and large supermarkets and general stores, both in the city of Lisbon and in its periphery, along the most accessible transportation axes. These new consumption areas, besides offering a variety of goods and services, have also been increasingly used as leisure areas, particularly by the younger population.

3. Segregation and social and spatial fragmentation of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

3.1. The dynamics of social change

The changes in the productive structure of the LMA that we have just presented are associated with the dynamics of social change amidst its resident

population and with the new forms of spacial organization of the economic activities and of appropriation of the urban space by the various social groups.

In this section, we seek to identify and to characterize the main tendencies that were visible in the 1990's with regard to the social and spacial reorganization of the metropolitan territory. For that, we draw on various indicators, at the municipality level, of the social-professional structure and of the housing conditions of the resident population. We should point out, however, that the municipality is a very heterogeneous territorial unit and that, therefore, the increasing social fragmentation of the urban space is hardly visible at this scale.

Over the past twenty-five years, the growing internationalization and the increasing weight of the tertiary sector in the Portuguese economy, particularly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, has resulted, as in other major European and world metropolises, in an increase in the income differentials between the highly qualified professionals in the areas of the new communication and information technologies and hi-tech services and an ever-increasing number of undifferentiated workers with low wages, who perform tasks that do not require any special skills or training. What is more, the persistently high level of unemployment – particularly among the women and the young people trying to enter the labour market –, along with the fact that employment has become more and more precarious due to the flexibility strategies in the labour market, has also contributed to the widening of the income span of the families of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

By 2001, income from work was the main means of subsistence for more than half (55.5%) of the resident population over 15 years of age in the LMA. The demographic ageing of the population and the rise in the average number of years spent in school have reflected upon the number of people who were dependent either upon retirement pensions and other benefits (22.3%) or upon their families, as is the case with students and housewives. Income from properties, unemployment benefits and other types of social benefits altogether account for less than 5%. As compared with 1991 – even though we should bear in mind that the 1991 figures include all those over 12, not 15, years of age –, it is worth pointing out that there has been an increase in the number of people in the lower echelons of the income scale, such as retired pensioners,

unemployed people and Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI) beneficiaries (Table 8). The gender analysis of these data brings to the fore the fact that women have much less financial autonomy than men, which is due to the still relatively high number of housewives – despite the increase in female activity rates over the past few years. Moreover, women are over-represented among those living off unemployment benefits and other types of social support, such as retirement pensions or the GMI.

Table 8 – The main source of income of the resident population in 2001 and 1991 (over 15 years of age and over 12 years of age, respectively)

Main source of income	1991					2001				
	Portugal	LMA	North bank	Lisbon	South bank	Portugal	LMA	North bank	Lisbon	South bank
Work	49.47	51.11	51.91	47.40	48.73	52.64	55.50	55.93	48.88	54.33
Rents and income from holding properties	0.59	.54	.61	.92	.32	.64	.67	.74	1.01	.46
Unemployment benefits	1.10	1.35	1.20	1.08	1.81	2.19	2.47	2.33	2.04	2.89
Temporary subsidies	0.73	.66	.65	.65	.71	.65	.63	.60	.58	.69
Guaranteed Minimum Income and social support	0.73	.52	.52	.66	.50	.82	.70	.72	1.04	.62
Retirement pensions	20.93	18.95	19.12	25.09	18.46	23.85	22.28	22.31	29.75	22.20
Dependent upon the family	23.02	23.45	22.55	20.54	26.16	17.66	16.13	15.76	15.02	17.16
Other	3.43	3.41	3.41	3.67	3.31	1.55	1.62	1.65	1.68	1.65

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

This table also shows that the level of social fragmentation is higher in the city of Lisbon than in the suburban municipalities, since the relative frequencies of the categories at the two ends of the scale (people living off rents and income from holding properties, on the one hand, and people living off the GMI and other social benefits, on the other) are higher than in the metropolitan area as a whole. Moreover, it is also in the city of Lisbon that one finds the highest percentage of retired people and old aged pensioners, which is due to its higher level of demographic ageing. In turn, the level of unemployment is highest in the Setúbal Peninsula.

These processes, alongside the growing wage differentiation of those working in the service sector, have led not only to an increase in the income

differentials between skilled and unskilled professional groups, but also to a rise in the incidence of poverty and social exclusion – which has been associated with the rising level of unemployment and with the high number of old aged pensioners whose retirement benefits are extremely low. Women, young people in search of their first job, the elderly, immigrants (particularly those without permits), the poorer ethnic minorities and those that have been unemployed for a long time are among the social groups that are the most vulnerable to this new type of social marginality and poverty situations.

The changes in the socio-professional profile of the resident population of the LMA that have taken place in the 1990's – namely, the increase in the proportion of skilled workers, intellectual and scientific specialists and professionals with intermediate qualifications and the decrease in the number of unskilled laborers and service-sector workers – have brought about an attenuation of the differences between the various municipalities of the LMA in terms of the professional structure of their resident population. This evolution is noticeable in the decrease in the variation coefficients of the percentage of workers in each group of professions for the 19 municipalities of the metropolitan area. However, at the “micro” level, these differences have tended to increase, as a consequence of the growing social fragmentation of the territory and of the intra-municipality asymmetries. Nevertheless, in what regards the service sector workers with higher qualifications (managers, intellectual and scientific workers), there remains an over-representation of the former in the city of Lisbon and in the municipalities of the Estoril Coast (Oeiras and Cascais) (Fig. 11) and of the latter in the Setúbal Peninsula, particularly in the Moita and Palmela municipalities. To the North of the Tejo, both in Mafra and in Azambuja there is also a higher than average proportion of workers in the 7th, 8th and 9th categories of the National Profession Classification (NPC) (Fig. 12).

Fig. 11 – NPC categories 1 and 2 (Managers, Directors, Professionals and Scientific workers), 2001

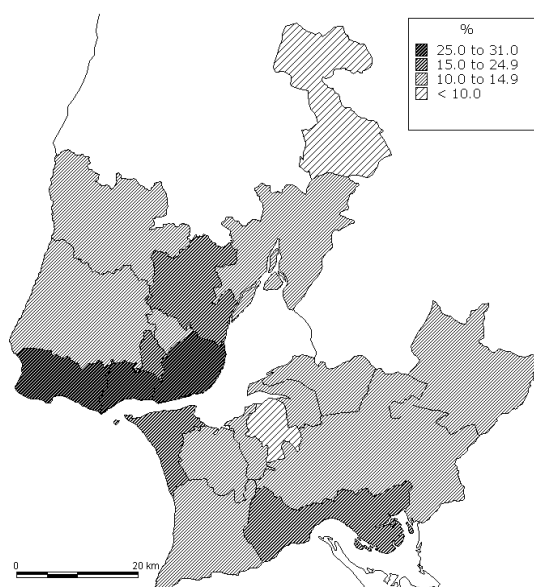
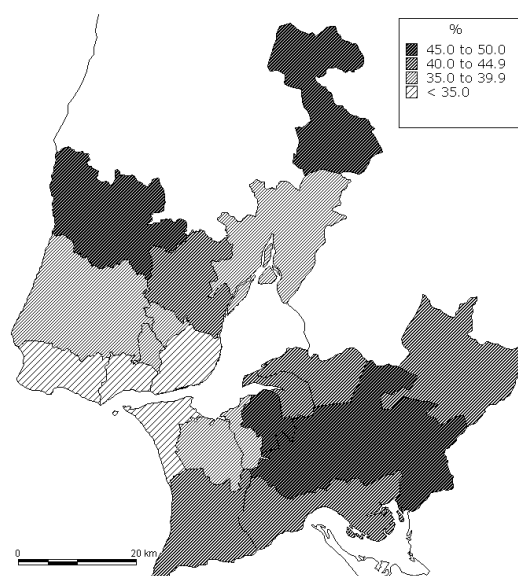


Fig. 12 – NPC categories 7, 8 and 9 (Manufacturing and construction workers, transport workers and tool operators), 2001



3.2. The segregation of residential areas

Ever since the 1950's, the Lisbon region has undergone a process of steady demographic growth, fostered by a series of successive migration flows: the domestic migration from other parts of the country; the return to the homeland, in 1975-76, of the people that had previously lived in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa; and the steady increase, from the mid-1980's onwards, in the number of foreign immigrants. This demographic growth has brought forth an increase in the demand for housing, which has been adequately met neither by the formal/private markets nor by the social housing provided by the local and central authorities. Consequently, there has been an accumulated shortage of housing, resulting in the emergence of a parallel market for the subletting of rooms or parts of flats (especially in Lisbon's historic and older neighbourhoods), along with a number of shantytowns and illegal residential areas, inhabited by those who cannot afford to buy a house in the official market⁹ (Fonseca, 1999).

According to the 1991 Population Census, 52,854 inhabitants of the LMA (2.08% of the total) lived by then in non-regular family dwellings, 41,829 of which in shanties. As Table 8 illustrates, non-conventional dwellings were highly concentrated in the LMA, since 71.92% of the total Portuguese population that lived in shanties inhabited this area.

The vast majority of the shanties that are known to exist in the LMA are located to the North of the Tejo (85.23%), most of which in the city of Lisbon itself (35.70%).

In the 1990's, both the central government and the city councils undertook substantial efforts in order to eradicate the remaining shanties from the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas, having implemented a Special Rehousing Programme (PER) aimed at providing new houses to shanty-dwelling families.

The 2001 Population Census shows that the number of people living in shanties in the LMA has indeed decreased - particularly in the Oeiras municipality and in the city of Lisbon. Shantytowns were systematically

⁹ It has been estimated that, by 1981, some 300 000 inhabitants of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area lived in illegal housing units.

destroyed as their residents were given new houses, so as to prevent other people from moving in. However, some 6,818 shanties, inhabited by 23,335 people, still remained in the LMA by 2001, accounting for 0.87% of all the people living in this region¹⁰ (Table 9).

Table 9 - Percentage of people living in the various types of housing (1991-2001)

Geographic Units	Types of housing							
	Conventional		Shanties		Other Non-conventional		Collective	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
1991								
Lisbon	629851	95.01	20695	3.12	4284	0.65	8105	1.22
North bank	1835450	96.64	39736	2.09	9283	0.49	14809	0.78
South bank	633977	98.99	2093	0.33	1742	0.27	2665	0.42
LMA	2469427	97.23	41829	1.65	11025	1.65	17474	0.69
Portugal	9705836	98.37	58161	0.59	36604	0.37	65848	0.67
LMA as a % of the country	-	25.44	-	71.92	-	30.12	-	26.54
2001								
Lisbon	542964	96.30	7821	1.39	2869	0.51	10164	1.80
North bank	1914542	97.32	20076	1.02	9768	0.50	22873	1.16
South bank	702528	98.31	3259	0.46	4072	0.57	4730	0.66
LMA	2617070	97.58	23335	0.87	13840	0.52	27603	1.03
Portugal	10169722	98.21	38838	0.38	43145	0.42	103573	1.00
LMA as a % of the country	-	25.73	-	60.08	-	32.89	-	26.69

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Population Census; calculations by the authors.

In this Table, it is also possible to notice an increase in the number of people living in housing units that fall under the category “other” in the suburban municipalities around Lisbon, in both the North and South banks of the Tejo. This has had to do with the increasing prevalence of a new type of precarious dwellings, akin to shanties but made out of bricks, which are considered for statistic purposes to be neither shanties nor conventional housing units. The neighbourhoods made up of these dwellings are, for the most part, inhabited by immigrants and ethnic minorities, particularly of African origin.

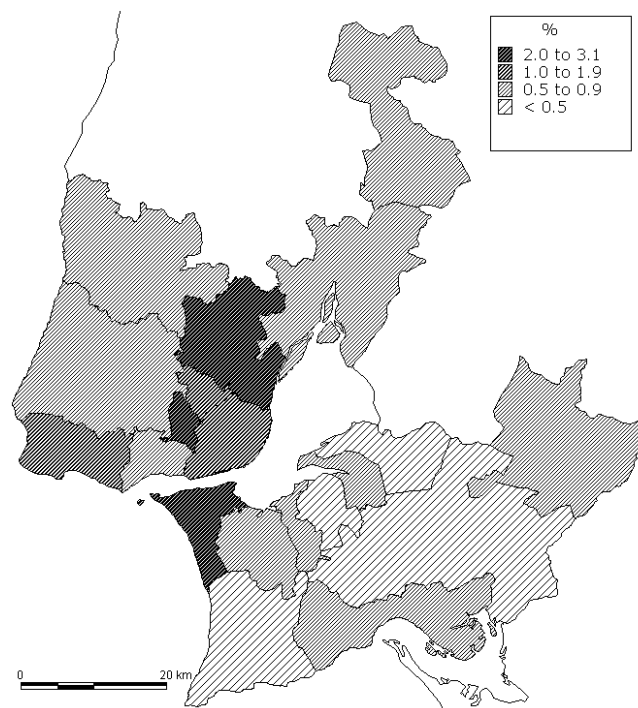
The efforts undertaken by the LMA municipalities in terms of rehousing programs aimed at the shanty-dwelling population have allowed for a slight

¹⁰ In 1991 there were 11,439 shanties in the LMA.

decrease in this type of problems, which no longer are such a prominent feature of the LMA. However, this region remains the one in which the shortage of housing raises the most problems: according to the 2001 Census, 60.1% of the nation-wide number of people who lived in shanties were in the LMA.

At the municipality level, the largest relative number of shanty-dwellers can be found in the city of Lisbon and in the municipalities of the first suburban ring, namely Amadora, Loures, Almada, Odivelas and Cascais (Fig. 13).

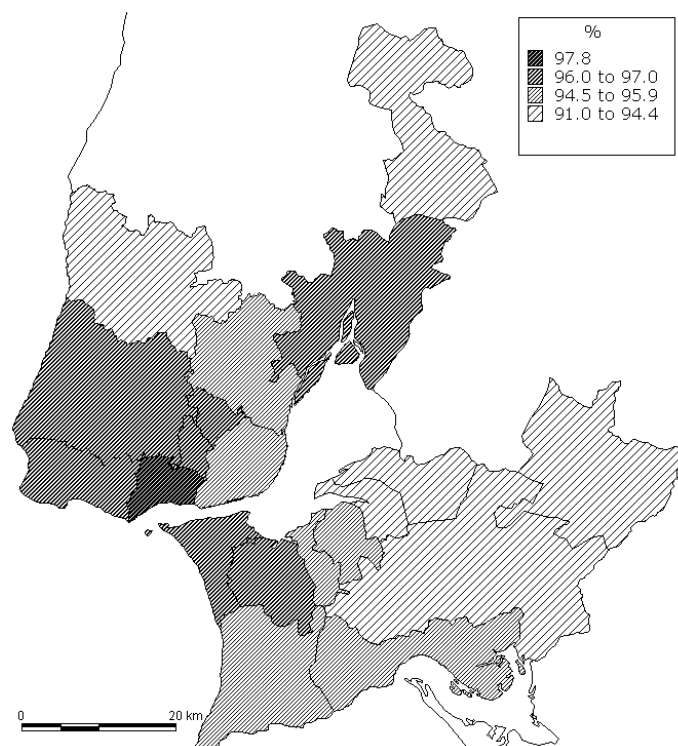
Fig. 13 - People living in shanties and other “non-conventional” housing units, 2001 (%)



Apart from the shanties and the precarious housing in certain neighbourhoods of illegal origin, the most serious issue having to do with the housing sector in the Lisbon region is the degree of decay of many of the old buildings in the city itself – especially in the historic boroughs –, in the historic centres of certain suburban areas and in some of the farther and less accessible rural villages that have not yet been affected by the “urban invasion”.

By 2001, despite the progresses made in this field in the 1990's, 4.2% of the population of the LMA did not yet have access in their homes to either water supply, basic sewage, electricity and/or a bathroom. What is more, in the peripheral municipalities of the metropolitan area, which maintain a distinctively rural flavor, the figures were even higher, in some cases reaching 10% of the resident population. Such is the case of the Mafra and Azambuja municipalities, in the North bank, and the Alcochete, Montijo and Palmela municipalities, in the South bank. (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14 – Dwellings with electricity, water supply, sewage and bathroom, 2001



As compared with the rest of the country, the average dwelling in the LMA is better equipped and served by better infrastructures, insofar as even the worst-off municipalities are in a comparatively better situation than the national average of 90.9% (percentage of dwellings with electricity, water supply, sewage and bathroom).

Between 1942 and 1985, rents were officially frozen in the city of Lisbon, leading to the growth of the suburbs and jeopardizing the rental market. The result was the development of an owner-occupied, condominium-system housing market, in which the speculative hoarding and selling of land and real estates was largely responsible for the desertification of the central areas of the city and for the concentration of service employment within the city. Consequently, throughout the 1990's the tendency has persisted towards an increase in the percentage of families who actually own the house in which they live, by means of bank loans.

The percentage of owner-occupied housing units is substantially larger in the suburban municipalities, particularly in the South bank, than in the city of Lisbon itself, which has resulted from the process of urban expansion of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area that we have mentioned before. (Table 10).

Table 10 – Family dwellings according to type of occupation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 2001

Geographic Units	Family dwellings according to the type of occupation (%)			
	Total	Owner-occupied	Rental or Sub-rental	Other
Portugal	100.00	75.67	20.88	3.45
Lisbon	100.00	47.77	48.71	3.52
North bank	100.00	65.18	31.90	2.91
North bank exc. Lisbon	100.00	72.90	24.45	2.65
South bank	100.00	75.55	22.20	2.25
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	100.00	67.90	29.36	2.74

Source: INE – 2001 Census (provisional data); calculations by the authors.

This tendency towards the disappearance of the offer of houses for rent has as a consequence the tremendous rigidity of the formal market for housing, which, in turn, explains the lesser residential mobility of the population. The way the vast majority of the middle and lower classes sees it, once you buy a house, you never leave it – either because it takes a very long time to repay the loan in full (whenever the house is bought by means of a bank loan); or because rents tend to fall over time even when they were originally high, since rent increases are subject to administrative control.

Along with the lesser residential mobility of the population, the rent freeze has also brought about the considerable degree of decay of the houses in the older parts of the city, as well as a substantial increase in the number of demolitions of old buildings whose rents were outdated. A process of speculative reconstruction has thus been generated, strongly increasing the density of land tenure (Fonseca, 1990).

The segmentation of the market for housing in the LMA is associated with a social and spatial dimension that reflects the quite disparate way in which the various social groups have access to the various types of housing units available and to the areas in which they are located. Hence, in the industrial city, the territorial pattern of the various types of housing units lies at the core of the spatial segregation.

Over the last few years, the restructuring of production, along with the changes in the social, professional and ethnic composition of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (due to the economic changes and to the increase in immigration) and the major urban interventions that have taken place both in the city of Lisbon and in the suburban areas have increased the social and economic differentiation of the metropolitan territory.

The construction of several important transportation and communication infrastructures, particularly from the mid-1980's onwards (due to the structural funds from the EU), such as the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the railway in the 25 de Abril Bridge, the CRIL and CREL ring roads, the North-South axis and the expansion of the subway network, has contributed to an increase in the differentiation between the areas that have been favoured by the aforementioned infrastructures and those that, being farther from them, have assumed an even more marginal position in the metropolitan context.

On the other hand, the urban renewal and improvement interventions undertaken in some areas of central Lisbon and in the Expo'98 world exhibition site, along with several other major real estate investments made – often by foreign investors – in the city of Lisbon and in some of the noblest and most accessible suburban areas, have in fact increased the spatial segregation between the economic activities and the residential areas of the various ethnic and social groups. This transition process has led to certain areas, which were formerly occupied by lower-income groups, being taken over by higher-status

professionals and business people who can afford higher property prices. In addition to these renewed areas, traditional upper-class zones in the western part of Lisbon and along the coast have maintained their capacity to reproduce high-quality images and socio-economic standards.

In the other end of the housing market spectrum, the least favoured groups have continued to concentrate in large social housing complexes and in conglomerates of illegal and precarious housing units. Indeed, and in spite of the efforts undertaken by the Portuguese local and central authorities to rehouse shanty dwellers and other people formerly living in derelict neighbourhoods, the fact is that, up until very recently, the rehousing of these people was carried out *en masse* by moving them into social housing neighbourhoods that, albeit improving their housing conditions, did not reduce the degree of social and economic spatial segregation. Moreover, the process of rehousing people in places far from where they used to live tends to disrupt their territorial identity ties with the original place of residence. The architectural features of the new buildings often make it very difficult to maintain the old ties between neighbours and, in sum, jeopardize sociability networks – leading to feelings of dissatisfaction and, sometimes, to the rejection of the residential area into which they have been moved (Malheiros, 2000; Guerra, 1994).

4. Concluding remarks

The economic restructuring and the social and demographic transformations undergone by the Lisbon Metropolitan Area over the last twenty years have brought about major changes in the urban structure and in the use of the land, both in the city itself and in the suburbs, thus altering dramatically the urban landscape.

In terms of demography, the slowdown of population growth, the considerable decrease in the number of inhabitants of the city itself, the ageing of the population (both at the top and the bottom of the age pyramid) and the increase in the number of foreign immigrants (as well as their increasingly diverse geographic origins) are all worthy of mention.

In what regards employment and the economic structure of the region, four major trends are noticeable:

- the internationalisation of the economy, characterized by the regional concentration of foreign direct investment in Portugal, as well as by the polarization of foreign trade;
- the growing participation of women in the labour market, along with the ever more precarious nature of employment;
- the expansion of the informal economy, namely in the construction industry and in personal and household services;
- the restructuring of industry and the reinforcement of a pattern of productive specialization based on service activities.

With regard to the social structure, the major noticeable changes have to do with the increased income inequality between the social groups at the top and those at the bottom, as well as with the emergence of new types of poverty and social exclusion associated with unemployment, old age and ethnicity.

As a consequence of all these trends, the territorial pattern of economic activity and of residential location has itself undergone profound changes. The result is a city that is nowadays much more fragmented than the modern city used to be, characterized by the existence of rigid spatial divisions.

II. ASPECTS OF THE MIGRATORY POLICY – LOCAL INTEGRATION ISSUES

1. Placing Portugal in the global framework

The late transition to democracy in 1974 was responsible for the expansion of the public sector, not only at the national and local administration levels, but also in terms of the state business sector, due to a very significant programme of nationalisations carried out in 1975 and 1976. Even though the direct intervention of the state in the business sector has been significantly reduced, due to the privatisation of most of the state companies over the last 15 years, the development of democratic local administrations and their role as providers of basic services in the fields of education, health care, local infrastructure and municipal planning, housing (using specific central administration subsidies), culture and social care (to vulnerable groups such as children, the elderly or the poorer ethnic minorities) have been recognised as major pillars of the national welfare system¹¹.

Despite this expansion in the functions of administration after the establishment of the democratic regime, we find that if we take into consideration the widely used and discussed classification of welfare regimes developed by Esping-Andersen (1990), the Portuguese system can be broadly considered as a corporatist-statist regime, albeit in a somewhat rudimentary form.

Throughout the past 50 years, commodification and market efficiency were never considered as key policy principles, although their prominence was reinforced during the 1985-1995 period, when a liberal party took office. In Portugal, the Public sector is indeed quite large, both financially and in terms of

¹¹ It is important to mention that Portugal does not have a regional level of public administration, except in the two insular autonomous regions of Madeira and the Azores. Although the 308 Portuguese municipalities do not have more competencies than most of their European counterparts, their average territorial size is well above the EU average.

employment, but social policies have always had a limited universalistic perspective and have never sought to challenge the existing social structures. However, over the last 6 years, the socialist cabinets have sought to extend a number of social policy instruments (such as the Guaranteed Minimum Income, the Social Security Reform and a National Housing Programme aimed at solving the problem of shack settlements) in order to fight exclusion and poverty (even though this did not challenge the existing social order). Besides, there is also evidence of contractualization efforts, at both the national and the local level, involving the state, the market and the third sector (namely NGOs, several of which are directly or indirectly linked to the Catholic Church¹²), in the pursuit of social policies.

Despite the relevance of the general principles of the welfare regimes in designing policies aimed at the integration of immigrants in the host societies, the specific integration or incorporation regimes should be considered as key aspects for understanding the insertion strategies adopted in each country - an issue that naturally influences the actions taken at the local level.

In Ribas-Mateos' (1997) typology of social integration regimes, *community* and *assimilationist* models are considered as the two extreme categories. The former, typically associated with countries like the Netherlands, are characterised by principles such as the acquisition of citizenship via *ius soli*, an effort towards the preservation of the specific identities of the immigrants and the prevalence of the ethnic minorities principle¹³ over the foreigners principle. In the case of the assimilationist model, the incorporation strategies are centered on the individual rather than on his/her membership of a specific ethnic group. Policy is based on universal citizenship rights shared by all the "national" members of society. In these societies, there are several cultural-religious groups, but their specific interests should not be confused with the general citizenship rights, granted by a secular and all-encompassing (with regard to *its* nationals) state.

¹² The influence of the Catholic Church over society is another feature associated by Esping-Andersen (1990, p. 27) with the corporatist-statist welfare regimes.

¹³ By the ethnic minorities principle, we understand the basic ideas presented by Amersfoort (1982).

Although these two models are apparently based on opposite principles, they are by no means absolute and in fact present several variations. Moreover, the analysis of the policy practices at the local and national levels in Europe seems to indicate a certain convergence (see Ribas-Mateos, 1997, p.7 and Vermeulen, 1997, especially the final chapter). For instance, in the case of the Netherlands, the ethnic groups approach is becoming less and less relevant and in the French case, frequently cited as an example of a country that adopts assimilationist principles, there seems to be an increasing concern with the problems of immigrants as group members¹⁴.

With regard to Portugal, the basic principle consists in the equality of rights between nationals and foreigners (except for some political rights and the access to certain public positions), as expressed in article 15, paragraph 1, of the Portuguese Constitution. It is noteworthy that the same article mentions, in its paragraph 3, that foreigners coming from Portuguese Speaking Countries may have some advantages in the processes related with the attainment of certain social and political rights. An element of differential treatment that privileges people coming from the former Portuguese colonies is thus embodied in the Fundamental Law of the country and has influenced other more specific legal documents.

In accordance with the basic principle of the equality of rights, the actions of the Portuguese authorities have been focused, first and foremost, in removing the barriers faced by foreigners in the access to economic (e.g. labour market), social (education, housing, welfare) and even political (the right to vote in local elections under conditions of reciprocity) rights.

Even though the ethnic categorisations that can be found in the countries that follow the multiculturalist model more explicitly are absent in the Portuguese policy documents, an effort has been made to recognise immigrants' associations as political partners (in consultative bodies) at both the national and the local level. The equality of rights between nationals and foreigners being the basic principle, the granting of individual citizenship rights

¹⁴ Although migrants' associations are seldom recognised as political partners in France, a number of local authorities provide them with financial and material support and frequently ask for their participation in consultative bodies.

to immigrants becomes a key factor. However, it is considered that some of the problems faced by the immigrants are not individual problems; rather, they are shared by an entire group of individuals who also share a common ethnic background and the same geographical origin (in the case of the major national associations of the various groups of immigrants). Frequently, these institutions congregate people that not only share a common background but who also live in the same area of residence in Portugal (this is typically the case of the local associations that deal with immigrants that have settled in derelict neighbourhoods in the periphery of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area). Finally, there are several small associations that focus on specific subgroups of the immigrant or ethnically minoritarian population, such as the younger people, the women or the individuals that came from a particular region within the country of origin.

To sum up, Portugal should be considered neither as a country that follows some sort of assimilationist regime of immigrant incorporation nor as a multiculturalist country. Ethnic pluralism is becoming a feature of the Portuguese society and the religious-cultural specificity of the various groups is generally respected and even promoted under the idea that diversity is a social advantage, but the basic principle consists in extending all civic rights to all the foreigner residents in the country¹⁵.

2. Towards the development of an immigration policy in Portugal: from post-colonial measures to the equality of rights principle and to the timid formal recognition of immigration as a relevant social issue

The analysis of the evolution of the legal framework associated with nationality and foreigners' rights allows us to understand how immigration issues were gradually incorporated in the political agenda. Throughout the contemporary Portuguese democratic regime, we may consider three phases in

¹⁵ For historical and political reasons, EU citizens and the nationals of Portuguese Speaking Countries benefit from special treatment.

the evolution of the policy issues having to do with immigration and with the integration of immigrants:

2.1. Immigration as a non-issue: democracy, fear of massive incoming movements and post-colonial measures

The institutionalisation of a democratic regime in 1974 brought about important changes in the legislation with regard to foreigners and their rights. By then, immigration – understood as a relatively continuous entry of foreigners in response to factors such as the needs of the internal labour market – was clearly a non-relevant policy issue. Besides, there was a relatively small number of foreigners (according to *ius soli*) in Portugal, namely some fairly wealthy Western Europeans and Brazilians and a few Cape Verdeans (the first wave of modern labour migration that arrived in the country in the second half of the 1960s), who were granted Portuguese citizenship because of having been born in the so-called “overseas provinces”. Foreign groups were hardly visible and in most cases their socio-economic status enabled them to solve their own problems in terms of employment, housing or access to education and health. Integration and the promotion of participation in the destination society were clearly unimportant issues.

Nevertheless, the creation of a democratic juridical order brought forth some important changes in the principles that stood at the core of the legislation regarding foreigners and their rights. The shape taken by these changes was strongly influenced by two factors:

a) On the one hand, the new democratic rulers maintained that, Portugal being a pluralist democracy, its legal system should grant equal rights to both foreigners and nationals (an argument that was supported by the aforementioned article 15th of the new democratic Constitution of 1976) and effectively promote the implementation of human rights as well as the right to asylum protection.

b) On the other hand, the decolonization of the Portuguese Speaking Countries of Africa (PALOP) became a major source of concern in the period 1974-1976.

Bearing in mind the past experience of the decolonization processes that had previously taken place in the other former European colonies, the fear of a massive arrival of millions of Africans from the newly created African States arose in the Portuguese society¹⁶. Due to this fear, a special transitory regime was created¹⁷ for those coming from the former Portuguese colonies, and the basic principle of nationality was changed from *ius soli* to *ius sanguinis*. Thus, the natives of the former colonies who did not have any Portuguese ancestors were automatically regarded as aliens. In a sense, this law “created” a foreign population in the country out of a group that up until 1975 was regarded as Portuguese. Besides, among the 500,000 who came from Africa and settled in Portugal in the 1974-1976 period, there were some Africans who became the members of the first significant communities of non-European foreigners.

Despite the changes in the law, aimed at making it harder for people born in the Portuguese Speaking African Countries to acquire the Portuguese nationality, these people did benefit from certain privileges, as mentioned in Article 15, paragraph 3 of the Constitution. For instance, Decree-law 308-A/75 states the political will of the legislator to extend, or allow for the continuation of, the Portuguese nationality to the people born in the former colonies who maintained strong ties with Portugal (Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiros, 2002). Article 5 of the aforementioned Decree-law allowed some people to keep the Portuguese nationality in special cases, such as having previously worked for the Portuguese administration or in the Portuguese Armed Forces. Additionally, special agreements regarding migration issues were signed with Cape Verde (1976), Sao Tome and Principe (1978) and Guinea-Bissau (1981).

Once the decolonization process was complete and the young Portuguese democratic regime started to show some signs of stability, the principles expressed in the Constitution and some of the ideas present in the 1975 diploma were incorporated in the laws on nationality (Law n. 37/81 of August 3rd.) and on foreign citizens (Decree-Law n. 264B/81 of September 3rd.). *Ius soli* remained the basic principle in granting nationality (Esteves, 1991, p. 121) and the specific aspects that favoured the people that came from the

¹⁶ The fear of this danger was present in the legislation issued in this period, such as Resolution n. 9/77 of 1977 (Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiros (Eds.) (2002).

¹⁷ DL n. 308/A of 1975.

Portuguese Speaking African Countries became less explicit. As far as the foreigners' legislation is concerned, it is important to mention that there was no clear positive discrimination of PALOP citizens either, and that labour immigration was not an important issue, as is demonstrated by the inexistence of *work visas* (the closest being *business and residence visas*). Besides, the first law concerning the employment of aliens (Law n. 97/77 of March 17th) prohibited the admission of foreigners in the Portuguese public administration¹⁸ and limited the number of aliens that could be employed by Portuguese firms with more than five employees (foreigners could not account for more than 10% of the total number of workers).

This legal system, distinctively influenced by the effect of the post-colonial transition rather than by the relevance of the immigration issue itself, only timidly included some aspects that privileged the PALOP citizens and lasted until the early 1990s. By then, both the international insertion context of Portugal (a full member of the EEC from 1986 onwards) and its position in the international migration system had changed substantially¹⁹.

2.2. From the early 1990s to 2000: The emergence of immigration as a relevant issue in the political agenda

2.2.1. *The pre-policy years: 1991-1995*

The emergence of the first actual principles of immigration policy in Portugal took place in the early 1990's. Two sets of factors brought forth this new approach:

With regard to the internal situation, the basic explaining factors were²⁰:

- A significant growth in the number of foreigners present in the country, especially in the second half of the 1980's. Most of these people came from the PALOP countries.

¹⁸ This aspect of the law was ruled unconstitutional and partially removed in 1979.

¹⁹ The statistical evidence shows that the migration inflows have persistently surpassed the outflows since 1993 (see *National Internal Sopemi Report* for 2000 - Direcção-Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e das Comunidades Portuguesas. Internal document).

²⁰ These elements have been summarised by Fonseca *et al.* (2001) and also by Malheiros (2001) (mimeo) (especially pp. 469-471).

- The increasing number of arrivals that were associated with some laxity on the part of the authorities in applying the foreigners' laws, which led to a gradual increase in the number of foreigners that remained in the country without proper legal authorization.
- The fact that some of the problems that the immigrants, especially those that came from the PALOP countries, had to face (poverty, housing conditions, clandestine labour) became more and more visible²¹.
- The first outbursts of inter-ethnic conflict, as well as several racist and xenophobic manifestations.
- The emergence of organised actions aimed at promoting immigrants' rights and at demanding a more positive and pro-active attitude by the government and by the civil society. The institutional fabric of NGOs and immigrants' associations that began to emerge in this period played a major role in these demands. These were the first steps taken by immigrants and ethnic minorities towards politicizing ethnicity, by undertaking collective actions in order to achieve certain rights and attain new resources (Machado, 1993).

Along with these internal factors, a number of external factors also influenced, to a great extent, the action of the Portuguese authorities. Joining the EU, which at the time followed a quite restrictive policy – as expressed in the idea of a *Fortress Europe* – led Portugal to strengthen its border controls and the restrictive character of its legal devices.

As a consequence of this new framework, the immigration policy instruments and their underlying legislation underwent important changes in the early 1990's. With regard to the issue of immigration inflows, the new legislation (Decree-Law n. 59/93 of March 3rd on the entry, permanence and expulsion of foreigners; Law n. 25/94 of August 19th on nationality and Law n. 70/93 of September 29th on asylum regulation) was characterized by some distinctively restrictive principles, as well as by an effort towards bringing the Portuguese

²¹ This was stressed in several studies carried out in this period, such as Bruto da Costa, Pimenta (Coord.) (1991) or França (Coord.) (1992).

law into consonance with the mainstream norms applied in the other EU countries (see Rocha-Trindade, 1995; Malheiros, 1996 or Torres, 1995).

Before these legal changes entered into force, the government decided to carry out an extraordinary regularisation process – a positive measure in the sense that it allowed for the legalisation of approximately 40,000 undocumented foreigners. As a consequence, these people expanded their set of opportunities and rights in the destination society, from the economic (bank accounts, protection in the event of unemployment ...) to the social (e.g. access to housing) and juridical-political (by limiting the risk of expulsion) spheres. However, it is important to mention that behind this measure lay also the principle of national security, since regularisation processes bring a great number of people to the light, either directly or indirectly, therefore potentially contributing to an increase in the level of efficiency of the mechanisms used to control the foreign population.

The pressure made by the NGO's and the immigrants' organisations, along with the awareness that the social problems faced by the foreigners, particularly those that came from the PALOP countries, was leading to mounting tensions in the Portuguese society, led the government to act on the issue of integration. Even though these were reactions in response to something, rather than an actual pro-active attitude, some very important measures were indeed taken in this period.

In 1991, the *Co-ordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Projects (Entreculturas)* was created, pursuing its activities (the promotion of the equality of opportunities and the development of multicultural education at the basic education level) under the authority of the Ministry of Education (Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas, 2000). This measure was one of the first of various initiatives aimed at improving the living conditions of the ethnic minorities in the Portuguese society. However, the fact that the very first initiative took place in the field of education somehow indicates a rather nationalistic approach, since the people that directly benefitted from it were either Portuguese or potentially soon to become Portuguese, rather than immigrants or foreigners, whose socialisation process had taken place abroad.

After this first measure, other important steps were taken in the areas of labour, social security and housing. In April 1993, under Resolution n. 38, the Cabinet passed a programme to fight down the social exclusion of immigrants and to reinforce their integration in the Portuguese society. This generic resolution mentioned a number of measures to be taken in the employment, training, education and social action sectors.

Along with the aforementioned *Entreculturas* Secretariat, which launched an Inter-cultural Programme in 1993, a common resolution in the area of employment was also taken by the State Secretaries of Employment and Social Affairs in April 1993 that specifically included measures aimed at fostering the social and professional integration of the immigrants (see Rocha-Trindade, 1995 - *op. cit.* pp. 208-209, p. 317).

Up until 1993, most of the re-housing processes conducted by the municipalities with the help of central administration funds were making very slow progresses. Therefore, the housing situation of several thousands of individuals became progressively worse due to the poor quality of both the housing and the public space, as well as to the absence of adequate infrastructures and neighbourhood services. As we shall see in section 3.3, the concentration of foreigners, namely from the PALOP countries, in these quarters increased throughout the 1980s.

In the early 1990s, a series of initiatives were launched by various civil society institutions (opposition parties, NGOs, some sectors of the Catholic Church) demanding a special and urgent intervention by the state in the housing sector aimed at solving the problem of shanty quarters.

Following these social movements, as well as the National Programme Against Poverty – under way since 1991 –, the government reacted by launching a major programme (PER - Special Re-housing Programme) aimed at re-housing all the people that lived in shantytowns in the municipalities of the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas (Decree-Law n. 163/93 of May 7th, 1993). The ultimate goal of this programme was the full eradication, by 2001, of all the shantytowns in the municipalities of these two metropolitan areas. The programme consisted in a partnership between the central administration and

the various municipalities²² by way of contracts, in accordance to which the former partner paid 50% of the total costs (land, infrastructure and construction), whereas the municipalities paid the remaining 50% and were also responsible for actually carrying out the projects (planning and construction)²³.

Although this programme was not specially designed for foreigners, its impact upon the unprivileged groups of immigrants and ethnic minorities was quite relevant. Having been created in the pre-policy period, the PER programme was in fact quite innovative in terms of the relationship between the foreign population and the public authorities. First of all, the thorough demographic, social and lodging surveys that supported the intervention shed light on the social and statistical dimensions of the ethnic minorities living in shanty neighbourhoods. The result was an increase in the awareness of this problem, which led the public authorities to clearly assume that re-housing was aimed at both foreigners and nationals, as well as to remove the previous restrictions that limited the access of foreigners to public housing. Finally, the preparation process leading up to, as well as actually carrying out the re-housing operations required the organised co-operation of the local populations, which reinforced the role and the recognition of the local associations as privileged actors. Since the ethnic minorities were over-represented in some neighbourhoods, the existing organisations had both a local dimension and an immigrant or ethnic one.

These changes in the policy framework in the field of integration policies also affected the way in which the municipalities, particularly in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), dealt with the immigrant populations and their institutional representatives. Initiatives such as the local-level regularisation campaign, the PER programme and the Inter-cultural Education Programme launched by the National *Entreculturas* Secretariat – involving schools with a high proportion of ethnic minorities, several NGOs and immigrant associations as well as municipalities – are all examples of top-down initiatives that contributed to the emergence of new approaches to the issues regarding

²² The NGO's that proved capable of promoting the creation/construction of housing for the population in need were also allowed to sign contracts with the Government under the same rules.

²³ The municipalities are allowed to contract loans at special rates, either directly with the National Housing Institute (INH) or through financial institutions.

immigrants and ethnic minorities immigrants at the municipality level. The municipalities of the LMA which at first undertook the most initiatives in this area were the ones in which the immigrants tended to cluster and where the social and ethnic tensions were more significant. It is important to mention that some left-wing local authorities (in which the mayors were either socialist or communist) went actually further than the Government in recognising ethnic minorities as institutional partners. Alongside a series of initiatives in the cultural field (ethnic festivals, the promotion of cultural and sports associations as well as music and dance groups), the Lisbon and Amadora municipalities have also created, in 1993 and 1995 respectively, consultative councils of immigrants and ethnic minorities that include representatives of the locally recognised associations. The purpose of these councils is to discuss the municipal policy decisions that directly or indirectly affect these populations. In the case of Lisbon, the creation of this body took place a few years prior to an equivalent body having been created at the national level.

2.2.2. The institutionalisation of the structures and the widening of the policy goals: 1996 – 2000

With the arrival of the Socialist Party in Government in 1995, a global integration policy framework was developed, seeking to widen the goals and initiatives which had begun in the previous years and to recognise the issue of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portugal as calling for a specific government body.

In January 1996, the High Commissionership for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) was set up with the aim of contributing to the co-ordination of the various integration policies – a process that involves NGOs, immigrants' associations, the municipalities and several Government bodies. The ACIME has also established protocols with institutions such as the Institute of Employment and Professional Training (IEFP – January 27th, 1999) – aimed at promoting the access of immigrants to employment centres, training posts and training programmes financed by the IEFP -, the Ministry of Science and

Technology, the Municipalities of Setúbal, Amadora and Oeiras (October 30th, 1999) – Digital Cities Programme, Project *Pelas Minorias* (For the Minorities) aiming to facilitate the access of minorities to the information society and the diffusion of information regarding the minorities and their associations through the Internet).

This effort towards designing an integrated approach to the issue of the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities eventually led to the establishment, in the year 2000, of the *Cabinet Task Force for the Follow Up of the Integration of Immigrants in the Portuguese Society*, which is chaired by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and which includes representatives from the local authorities as well as from various government bodies (Cabinet Resolution n. 48/2000 of the 28th of November). This task force seeks to contribute to the establishment of partnerships between the national administration and the municipalities, which are often responsible (directly or indirectly) for the active implementation of integration measures in fields such as basic education and the learning of the Portuguese language, daily administrative procedures or the access to housing.

Another important change that took place in this period consisted in the institutionalisation of the role of the immigrants' associations as partners in the processes that specifically concern this population. Following the creation in 1996 of the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the Associations for Regularisation, at a time when the Second Extraordinary Regularisation Campaign was taking place, the COCAI (Consultative Council for Immigration Affairs) was established in 1998 (Decree-Law n. 39/98). This Council, which began its activity in March 1999, is chaired by the ACIME and includes representatives from recognised immigrants' associations, NGOs, business associations, major trade unions, as well as the State Secretary for the Portuguese Communities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Apart from the creation of this inter-institutional Council, another important piece of legislation passed in this period determined the requirements that the immigrants' associations should fulfil in order to be recognised by the ACIME (Law n. 115/99 of August 3rd). This formal recognition required several formalities (elected social bodies, published statutes, registration in the National

Registry of Collective Bodies and having the promotion of immigrants' rights as their main goal) and entitled the associations to be consulted in matters that concerned immigration and ethnic minorities (including the participation in the COCAI) as well as to benefit from financial and technical support by the State.

Meanwhile, several steps were taken with the purpose of fighting inequality and the discrimination endured by foreigners. The first relevant initiative was the Second Extraordinary Regularisation Campaign, under which 35,000 illegal immigrants (67% of which came from the PALOP) applied for residence permits. It was within the ambit of this process that the aforementioned Co-ordinating Secretariat of the Associations for Regularisation was also set up. This regularisation process also had considerable symbolic importance, since "one of its main goals was to halt the negative effects of illegality" (Baganha, Marques and Fonseca, 2000, p. 58). Indeed, the lack of legal documents prevented the formal access of foreigners to public housing, social services (health, social care, etc), as well as other everyday services and activities.

Side by side with the extraordinary regularisation process, the expansion of the Special Rehousing Programme – PER *Families* (D.L. n. 79/96 of June 20th) also indirectly widened the possibilities offered to foreigners that lived in shanty quarters. In the preamble of this legal document, mention is made to the fact that some families may be encouraged to leave their shacks by helping them return to their places of origin, where they can rehabilitate or even build a house. Even though this was not specifically meant for foreigners (since it also applies to internal migrants who left the rural areas and presently live in shacks in the Metropolitan Areas), it opened the door to helping those that wished to do so return to their places of origin (e.g. retired immigrants who want to return to their country).

The creation of the Guaranteed Minimum Income programme (Law n. 19A/96), a policy instrument whose goal is to fight poverty and social exclusion, is yet another example of the inclusive approach that characterized the National Social Policy that was implemented in the second half of 1990s, since the poorer legal foreigners were also admitted as beneficiaries. This policy instrument included both a monetary benefit (the minimum income proper) and

the requirement to take part in social programmes aimed at enhancing the social resources of the beneficiary (professional training, literacy classes, registration in employment centres, self-employment support, programmes for alcoholics and drug addicts). 5,463 foreigners were included in the Programme – accounting for 1.3% of the total number of beneficiaries –, most of which came from the Portuguese-Speaking African Countries.

When the coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats took office in May 2002, one of the changes implemented was the denomination of the Guaranteed Minimum Income that also corresponded to a change in its rules of attribution. It is now called Social Income of Insertion and the original idea of the new government was to rise the minimum age of beneficiaries to 25 years. However, the Constitutional Court of Law ruled the government's proposal unconstitutional and it had to be reviewed. The final version, approved by the Parliament in February 2003, established the minimum age at 18, but the beneficiaries aged between 18 and 30 years have to have been enrolled in an Employment Centre for at least 6 months. The idea behind the change is to implement more rigour in its attribution to beneficiaries who should regard it as a final resource to fight down exclusion and not as a taken-for-granted income. However, the opposition members of the Parliament called the government and the public opinion's attention to the social exclusion risks that young people may live through in the first six months of unemployment because they are not entitled to the Social Income of Insertion.

The new labour law for foreigners (Law n. 20/98 of May 12th) also proved a positive step in the same direction, by removing some of the restrictions on the activities that could be performed by foreigners as well as on the limits imposed to firms that employed foreigners (the aforementioned limit of 10% foreigners imposed to Portuguese firms with more than five employees).

Another example of a positive measure came from the field of political rights. Law n. 50 of November 3rd, 1996 introduced the necessary legal changes that allowed EU citizens and other foreign residents in Portugal to run for local election. The participation of these latter is subject to two basic conditions: the duration of their residence in Portugal (two years for those that come from Portuguese-Speaking countries, three years for the rest) and the

principle of reciprocity (the right to vote is granted only if the Portuguese living in the country at stake are also given the right to vote at local elections there).

The issue of xenophobia and discrimination was addressed in a specific anti-discrimination law (Law n. 134/99 of August 28th) that expressly prohibited discriminatory practices based on race, colour, nationality and ethnic origin. The text addresses some issues in particular, namely those having to do with the economic activities and the labour market as well as the access to public services such as education or health. Within the ambit of this law, the Advisory Committee for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination was created, comprehending partners similar to those that participated in COCAI (representatives of immigrants' associations, trade unions and others).

Finally, the new law on the entry, permanence and expulsion of foreigners (D.L. n.244/98 of August 8th) also takes into consideration the equality of rights principle, while explicitly mentioning the right to family reunion and somehow expanding the possibility for the regularisation of illegal foreigners (Baganha and Malheiros, 2000).

2.2.3. Post-2000: the beginning of a true immigration policy? - the institutionalisation of the recruitment strategies and the present citizenship rights framework

As far as the immigration policy is concerned, some important changes have taken place in 2000 and in the early 2001. By 1999, the evidence of a growing wave of immigration into Portugal had become clear. In addition to that, several entrepreneurs and business associations had started to claim that the internal labour market was unable to meet their demand for labour (e.g., in the construction and tourism sectors). This strong migratory pressure had become even clearer by 2000 and was associated both with “push” factors in Brazil and especially in the “new” countries of immigration to Portugal (Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Russia) and with the segmented needs of the internal labour market.

The mounting pressure on the part of the employers, along with the changing features of the immigrants' profile and the visible presence of illegal immigrant workers (mentioned in Cabinet resolution n. 14/2001 of February 14th), who were often brought into the country by trafficking networks, led the government to act on the issue of immigration. The government responses followed three basic policy guidelines:

1. An effort to regulate the flows and to regularise the situation of the non-documented people already present in the country;
2. The decision to implement a more realistic immigration policy, in relation with the needs of the labour market;
3. To further develop policies destined to promote the integration of foreigners - an area that had experienced relevant advances in the second half of the 1990's, as we have already seen.

The first two principles served an intention to act pro-actively in the one aspect of immigration policy that up until the year 2000 had not been addressed: the migratory flows. In order to put this into practice, the immigration law (DL n. 244/98 of August 8th) was changed by the DL n. 4/2001 of January 10th. Article 55 of this new piece of legislation instituted the *permanence permit* for foreigners present in the country who do not possess legal documents but are in possession of a valid²⁴ work contract. This permit enables its bearer to legally remain in the country for one year (and can be renewed every year for four more years)²⁵.

In addition to this, the new law also introduced a new element in the system of recruitment of foreign workers – the requirement of a yearly report elaborated by the Government, predicting the number of foreign workers needed in the various activity branches in each year²⁶. Although the diploma does not use the term *quotas*, that is certainly the idea, even though it only

²⁴ Registered in the Portuguese General Labour Inspection.

²⁵ As a general principle, the people that obtain permanence permits have the right to family reunion.

²⁶ The first report was published in June 2001.

serves an indicative purpose - in principle, the non-EU workers admitted in the country in each year must perform tasks in the branches indicated in the report (an idea of quotas by sector of activity).

The elements of change included in the new law were accompanied by other measures. On February 14th, 2001, the *Cabinet Commission for the Follow Up of the Immigration Policy* was created, with the goal of co-ordinating the various government bodies involved in the implementation of the immigration policy. Additionally, immigration agreements were signed with Bulgaria and Romania, with the twin purpose of facilitating the recruitment of workers and fighting the action of traffickers. These two bilateral agreements did not establish any annual immigration quotas.

All of this points towards an effort by the Portuguese authorities both to better regulate the flows and to implement a more flexible immigration policy, in accordance with the spirit of recent European Commission documents.

The new government that took power in May 2002, formed by a coalition of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Popular Party (PP), promoted through ACIME, the elaboration of a National Immigration Plan that should be the synthesis document of the present legal framework, as well as of the initiatives to be developed in the scope of the recognition of rights and duties of immigrants, and also of the measures and actions in order to promote their insertion in Portugal.

In the activity plan for 2002/2003, not only the initiatives started by the previous ACIME are developed, but three main lines of intervention are also defined:

1. Establishment of a National Information Network for the immigrant comprising the publication of a monthly bulletin, leaflets and flyers, setting up a call-centre available in three languages and diffusion of information through the internet (www.acime.gov.pt).
2. Creation of a National System to Support Immigrants that includes the setting up of nation-wide support centres (in Lisbon and Oporto), regional centres (in the districts's capital

cities) and local centres (in several villages across the country). In these centres, immigrants can obtain the information they need to deal with regularization, employment, health, education and social support issues. To implement these centres, several partnership agreements have been signed with public and private institutions. Among these one can point out the Foreigners and Borders Office, Employment and Training Institute, Social Security, Education and Health Ministries, Municipalities and NGOs.

3. Establishment of an Observatory of immigration that includes a coordinator, appointed by ACIME, and an informal council made up of university research centres. The Observatory promotes the development and public discussion of studies on immigration and ethnic minorities living in Portugal.

In terms of legislation, the new centre-right governmental coalition brought about important changes to the juridical regime of entry, permanence, exit and removal of foreigners from the national territory shown in the Decree Law n. 4/2001 of January 10th. The new immigration law, published in the Decree Law n. 34/2003 of February 25th, incorporates not only the Community Directive n. 2001/517CE of the Council of June 28th which contemplates the dispositions of article 26th of the Application Convention of the Schengen Agreement of June 14th 1985, and the Community Directive n. 2002/90/CE from the Council of November 28th on the responsibility of help given to entry, transit and residence of non-documented immigrants. This new law is more restrictive in terms of entries and also in terms of family reunion. Moreover, it imposes limitations to the internal geographical mobility of foreign workers, something that had never before been seen in the Portuguese legislation on immigration matters. It also reinforces the mechanisms of expulsion on non-documented immigrants, giving wider agility to the Foreigners and Borders Office when removing citizens lacking the necessary documentation from the national territory. It also hardens the imprisonment punishments and the fines to be paid by illegal organizations that traffic workers and employers exploiting non-documented immigrants.

3. The general framework of the local administration responses to immigration: the case of Lisbon Metropolitan Area

As we have mentioned earlier on in this section, the establishment of the democratic regime following the 1974 Revolution enabled the Portuguese municipalities to acquire greater administrative autonomy and to become key partners in the implementation of the national welfare policy. In what regards their financial resources, the budget of the 308 Portuguese municipalities is made up of an annual amount of money transferred by the central administration (which varies according to the resident population, geographical area, number of boroughs, etc.), which adds to the local taxes on housing, vehicles, shops, sewage system, water supply, etc. According to the Portuguese Constitution (Article n. 240) and the Law of Local Finances (Law n. 42/98, August 6th, 1998), the local authorities have the right to administrate their revenue with full autonomy.

Despite their limited policy obligations towards the immigrants and ethnic minorities, the Portuguese municipalities have developed an important set of initiatives aimed directly or indirectly at this population (Silva, 1999). The best examples can be found in the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), where a large proportion of immigrants has settled. In 14 out of the 19 LMA municipalities, the percentage of immigrants is considered significant by the national standards (Malheiros, 2000a and 2000b; Silva, 1999). Apparently, the main reasons that have led the municipal authorities to implement these policies had to do with the sheer number of immigrants and ethnic minority members living in the municipality, with the recognition of the specific social problems experienced by these populations and with the orientation of the political forces that run the municipalities. However, the influence of the latter factor is visible, above all, in the kind of policies that have been implemented, rather than in whether or not there are such policies.

Drawing on data from a study of the measures and actions related to ethnic minorities that have been implemented by 13 local authorities of the LMA, it is possible to draw a good picture of those policies (Fonseca, Caldeira and Esteves, 2002). A questionnaire made up of three sets of questions was sent to these municipalities between February and April 2001. It included questions on the nature of the relationship between the local authorities and the immigrants' associations (pro-active, reactive, frequent, non-existent), on the participation of immigrants in decision-making and consultative councils and on the existence of specific boards working with and for the immigrants. The last group of questions in the questionnaire included a table with 8 areas of intervention, ranging from housing, labour market and training to cultural issues and citizenship. These areas were assigned a number between 1 and 5, "1" meaning "low priority intervention area" and "5" indicating a "very high priority intervention area".

The results thus reached showed that the housing issue remains the main focus of concern for most of the local authorities of the LMA. The limitations of the market for housing, along with the relational networks already in place in the territory, have led numerous immigrants to shanty neighbourhoods that are now being demolished and replaced by social housing.

In response to this problem, as we have already mentioned, the municipal authorities and the central government have implemented a Special Re-housing Program (PER), in order to eradicate all shacks and to build new residential blocks up until the end of the year 2001. Considering the substantial efforts and attention that the local authorities have been putting into this programme, as well as the over-representation of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the shanty neighbourhoods, it is easy to understand why this item takes first place. One should bear in mind that both the PER and the EU's URBAN initiative call for neighbourhood approaches that potentially involve the entire local population. However, the aforementioned over-representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in some of the quarters has led the local authorities to undertake and finance other more specific integration measures, such as the African Week in Vale da Amoreira (included in the Urban Rehabilitation Programme of Vale da Amoreira – Moita municipality –, which

has sought to complement the URBAN initiative), a parental education initiative in Outurela/Portela (target area of the URBAN initiative in the Oeiras municipality) and the Intercultural School of Venda Nova/Damaia de Baixo (an URBAN initiative in the Amadora municipality).

In second place – not far behind the housing issue and in fact often in relation with it –, one finds the initiatives in the areas of social support and education, developed in order to eradicate or minimise the social, economic and cultural exclusion and to prevent future marginality situations. Among the social support measures, the guaranteed minimum income must be singled out. Even though it is an initiative of the central government, extended to all the families in need (not just immigrant families or ethnic minorities), the fact is that the civil servants that work for the municipal authorities often act as information providers, clearing people's doubts and receiving the applications in the local boroughs. Each municipality has one or more Local Follow-up Commissions (LFC), whose task is to study the applications, select the eligible beneficiaries and give advice on what kind of social integration programme must the individuals or the families follow.

In the field of social care, it is also important to stress that several municipalities have various social equipment, such as kindergartens, workshops for the youngsters and day centres for the elderly, at the disposal of their population. Moreover, several municipalities have implemented specific social initiatives, such as the creation of leisure spaces and centres, measures within the ambit of the *Integrar* (Inclusion) initiative or the promotion of actions against poverty (Silva, 1999, p. 138). These initiatives have often been carried out in co-operation with immigrants' associations and NGOs.

The third most relevant field is that of education. Several projects have been implemented in this area, usually in schools in which high percentages of students belonging to ethnic minorities can be found. These initiatives have sought to promote multicultural education and to fight down racism and have been supported by the Ministry of Education, namely through the *Entreculturas* Secretariat, sometimes in co-operation with the Portuguese Council of UNICEF. Among these projects is the aforementioned "In favour of the Minorities" project in the Amadora, Oeiras and Setúbal municipalities, which is a part of the

broader “Digital Cities” programme that was created by the ACIME and the Ministry of Science and Technology (MST) with the aim of fighting info-exclusion among the immigrated communities in the LMA. In partnership with the ACIME, various immigrants’ associations of the LMA submitted a series of projects to the MST that included the installation (by an IT research institute - INESC) of multimedia computers connected to the Internet, allowing youngsters to have easier access to information and to receive training in the use of computers. In its earlier phase, seven immigrants’ associations were selected by the ACIME to take part in this initiative. Due to the fact that four of these associations did not meet the logistic requirements needed to host the trainees and the hardware, the authorities of their respective municipalities also took part by providing the physical infrastructures. Another project worthy of mention is currently being implemented by the Loures municipality and is entitled APELARTE – Multicultural Education (GARSE, 2000). It is a personal and collective enhancement programme that aims to promote social integration and active citizenship through educational and training initiatives. Teenagers attend free classes in photography, African dance, traditional music, chess, drama, etc,. They also play football and volleyball and are offered the help of tutors in doing their school homework. According to the Office for Religious and Social Affairs (GARSE), which promotes the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the Loures municipality, it is an educational and training project with social, entertaining and pedagogical goals that seeks to help youngsters build their life projects and choose their future occupations.

In the second group of priorities – from the point of view of the local authorities –, we find the initiatives in the areas of culture, active citizenship and support to the immigrants’ associations. In terms of cultural activities, all the municipalities promote and organise exhibitions, festivities, music, dance and gastronomy festivals and national day celebrations. Dance groups like *Batoto Yetu*, a group from the Oeiras municipality that is financially supported by the Luso-American Development Foundation, or several groups of Capeverdean *batuque* (e.g. in the Amadora and Setúbal municipalities) have also benefitted from the support of the local authorities. Yet another initiative that is worthy of

mention is the *Hip-Hop and Graffiti Nucleus* of the Vale da Amoreira, in the Moita municipality.

In 1997, the Lisbon municipality set up a Centre of Multicultural Resources – a facility destined for cultural and knowledge exchanges between people who live in Lisbon and who come from different cultural backgrounds (Portuguese, African, Gypsy, Indian, etc.),. The Centre has its own library, exhibition area and multimedia computers and offers Internet classes and courses on multiculturalism, citizenship, Creole language and other issues.

The Amadora municipality publishes a newsletter – *Infoculturas* – containing information regarding the activities developed within the immigrated communities and ethnic minorities.

The most frequent initiatives in the LMA in the field of the promotion of citizenship have to do with the organisation and promotion – in close co-operation with the ACIME – of workshops on the subject of the rights and duties of the immigrants and ethnic minorities. In these workshops, the civil servants that work directly in the neighbourhoods usually give their opinion and advice on how to conduct further actions to fight discrimination and to promote active citizenship among the foreign citizens. In what regards this particular issue, the Sintra Municipality and the ACIME have signed, in May 2000, a Protocol with the aim of implementing an Action Plan on the subject of the rights, duties and obligations of the immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Several local authorities have signed partnership agreements with immigrants' associations, which, in turn, play a very important role in conveying information that is useful for the immigrants. NGO's and the Catholic Church have also proved very important in cooperating with these associations. Whenever these associations were either non-existent or rather inactive, certain NGO's have taken over the responsibility for submitting projects to the local authorities.

According to Fonseca, Caldeira and Esteves (2002) there are four types of relationship between the local authorities and the immigrants' associations.

- The “pro-active municipalities”: the three municipalities that have the most active attitude and that actually invite the immigrants’ associations to submit their projects - Oeiras, Amadora and Sintra;
- The municipalities of Lisbon, Seixal, Moita and Barreiro, which can be considered as being of the “reactive type“, because it is the associations that most often take the initiative to submit their projects to the local authorities;
- Three municipalities can be included in the “non-preponderance” type, because of there being an interactive relationship in which the associations and the local authorities submit their projects to one another – Almada, Setúbal, and Loures;
- The “occasional type”, which includes Vila Franca de Xira, Cascais and Montijo: in these municipalities, the contacts between the two parts are rare and it is arguable which one is the most active.

These differences in terms of procedures are due not only to the willingness and capacity of the local authorities, but also to the actual number, strength and leadership capacity of the immigrants’ associations. In the municipalities in which there is a robust associative movement, the local authorities have trust in the associations and enable them to play a more active role. However, some local authorities prefer to submit their own initiatives and programmes to the associations which then become partners, following an exchange of ideas and opinions about the project. In yet other municipalities with barely incipient associative movements, the contacts between the two parts are only sporadic.

Lagging far behind in terms of the priority given by the local authorities, we find the initiatives that have to do with the labour market and training areas, which, in general, are basically regarded as being the responsibility of the regional bodies of the Ministry of Employment. However, some municipalities have engaged in partnerships (with the Institute of Employment and Professional Training - IEFP -, and, occasionally, with some NGOs) aimed at organising training courses, which frequently benefit from EU funding. Again, this is not exclusively meant for immigrants; rather, all the residents of the municipality are eligible. Since the only reason why many trainees actually

attend classes consists in the fact that there is an attendance wage, local authorities have been encouraging these associations to set up small firms in which the skills acquired in the training program can be put to good use (Loures and Vila Franca de Xira).

Decentralized cooperation with the countries of origin, by establishing networks of sister-cities is another one of the initiatives at the bottom of the list. However, sister-city agreements with other municipalities in the countries of origin of the traditional sending countries (e.g. Cape Verde, Angola and even Mozambique) are clearly over-represented in LMA, area where these populations cluster (Malheiros, 2001, pp. 566-567). Through these treaties, the cities make a commitment to cooperate by designing technical projects for electricity and water supply, providing training in Portugal and *in loco*, donating construction materials, books, surgery materials, ambulances, etc. and implementing student exchange programmes. Even though the development of this type of cooperation initiatives still faces many substantial obstacles, such as the frequent lack of programmed strategies or the low level of institutionalisation, there have been some extremely interesting examples of cooperation initiatives of this type in municipalities such as Amadora, Oeiras and Seixal (on this subject, see Afonso, 1998).

III. THE INSERTION OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN THE METROPOLITAN ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

1. Demographic aspects

In this chapter, we shall present the main demographic and economic characteristics of the immigrant population residing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Specifically, our analysis shall focus on variables such as nationality, sex-*ratio*, area of residence, main sectors of activity, participation in the labour market, professional status and unemployment rates by nationality.

1.1.Data limitations

The availability of data on immigration at the city level is limited by the fact that the Population Census carried out by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) takes place only once every ten years – in the years ending in “1”. However, this shall be the main statistical source used in this analysis. Several other institutions - namely the Foreigners and Borders Office (SEF), which is responsible for all the bureaucratic procedures having to do with the presence of foreign citizens in Portugal – also gather data on immigration. However, the geographical disaggregation of the data provided by the SEF does not allow for an analysis in detail of the immigration phenomenon.

The statistical information provided by the SEF is usually presented at the *distrito* level – a large administrative/geographical unit created in 1835 – and the information regarding aspects such as employment is not available with regard to the entire immigrant population, only to those that have applied for resident status. Many variables that are crucial for the characterization of the foreign population, such as the number of foreigners of the various nationalities that have been granted permanence permits, are not even available in

geographically disaggregated form. On the other hand, the updated statistical information provided by the SEF is usually disaggregated by regional units that reflect this office's administrative division of the country. These units roughly correspond to the NUT II level and are therefore too large to allow for an analysis in detail of the areas of settlement of the immigrants in a legal situation.

Drawing on both recent and retrospective data from these two institutions, we seek to provide a picture of the evolution of immigration in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Whenever possible, we also refer to data for the country as a whole, in order to provide a national framework for the analysis.

1.2. The evolution of immigration and its geographical origins

According to the national Census, the share of foreign citizens living in Portugal that reside in the LMA – the largest Portuguese metropolitan area – is both considerable and growing. By 1991, 45,608 foreigners inhabited the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, accounting for 42.8% of all the foreign citizens living in the country. Ten years later, the 2001 Census indicated a reinforcement of this trend, which was visible in the remarkable growth in the number of non-nationals in the LMA (+176.1%), as well as in the reinforcement of their share in the total number of foreign citizens in the country (55.5%) – see Table 11. This substantial increase was particularly noticeable in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, but also reflected a considerable increase in the number of foreign residents throughout the country. In the time between these two Censi, the number of foreigners in the country more than doubled (+112.7%): while, in 1991, they accounted for 1.1% of the country's residents, ten years later their share had increased to 2.2%. Again, this growth was especially noticeable in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, where the share of non-nationals increased from 1.8% to 4.7% of the resident population (Table 12).

Table 11 - Foreigners living in Portugal and in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area by continent of origin (1991, 2001)

Continents	Years	1991		2001		Var. rate 91-2001
		N.	%	N.	%	
Total	Portugal	106,565	100.0	226,715	100.0	112.7
	Lisbon M. A.	45,608	42.8	125,927	55.5	176.1
Europe	Portugal	37,474	100.0	72,355	100.0	93.1
	Lisbon M. A.	10,585	28.2	20,070	27.7	89.6
Africa	Portugal	36,629	100.0	103,271	100.0	181.9
	Lisbon M. A.	27,234	74.4	82,277	79.7	202.1
America	Portugal	30,296	100.0	44,334	100.0	46.3
	Lisbon M. A.	6,409	21.2	19,169	43.2	199.1
Asia	Portugal	1,770	100.0	6,318	100.0	256.9
	Lisbon M. A.	1,303	73.6	4,286	67.8	228.9
Oceania	Portugal	396	100.0	437	100.0	10.4
	Lisbon M. A.	77	19.4	125	28.6	62.3

Source: INE - 1991 and 2001 Population Census.

Table 12 – Share of foreign citizens in Portugal and in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (1991, 2001)

Year	1991	2001
Portugal		
Resident population	9,867,147	10,356,117
Foreign residents	106,565	226,715
%	1.1	2.2
Lisbon Metropolitan Area		
Resident population	2,540,276	2,682,687
Foreign residents	45,608	125,927
%	1.8	4.7

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Population Census.

Despite the differences in the methods of geographical disaggregation used, the comparison with statistical information from other sources allows for some interesting conclusions. Indeed, the data from the Census and the data from the SEF show slightly different pictures for the same geographical unit –

the *Distrito*²⁷ (Table 13). In the whole of the country, the Census questionnaires were able to include more foreign citizens than the Foreigners and Borders Office did. In the Lisbon region, the situation was quite the opposite, the SEF indicating a higher number of foreign residents than the Census. Despite the difference between the figures from these two sources, it is clear there has been a steady growth in the number of foreign citizens who have chosen Portugal as a place to live and work.

Table 13 - Foreign citizens living in the Lisbon Region, according to two different sources, 2001

<i>Distrito</i>	SEF	Census
Lisbon	121,039	102,423
Setúbal	23,191	27,506
Lisbon+Setúbal	144,230	129,929
Portugal	223,602	226,715

Sources: INE – Demographic Statistics, 2001 (data supplied by the SEF); INE – 2001 Census.

Not all continental groups have increased at the same pace: those with the highest variation rates at the national level were the Asians and the Africans (Table 4). By 1991, while the Asians were still a very small community, accounting for only 1.7% of all the non-nationals living in Portugal (2.8% ten years later), the Africans were already the largest foreign group (34.4% in 1991). Their presence in the country was reinforced during the past decade and, by 2001, they accounted for 45.6% of the foreigners residing in Portugal. Amongst them, the nationals of the Portuguese Speaking African Countries (PALOP) were the most important group, which reflected the old colonial ties with the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The nearly threefold increase in the number of African immigrants in Portugal was due not only to an increase in the numbers of immigration from these countries but also to two extraordinary regularisation campaigns – carried out in 1992/93 and in 1996 –, which allowed

²⁷ The two territorial units (the Lisbon and Setúbal *distritos*) together account for a larger geographic area than the Lisbon Metropolitan Area does: 7,964.0 Km² as compared to 3,218.5 Km². However, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area comprehends 91.7% of the resident population of both of those *distritos*.

for the regularisation of numerous immigrants who were already living in the country but who lacked the required legal authorisations (see section 2).

Table14 - Foreigners living in Portugal by nationality (1991, 2001)

Years	1991	2001	1991	2001	Var. rate 91-2001
	N.		%		
Total	106,565	226,715	100.0	100,0	112,7
Europe	37,474	72,355	35.2	31.9	93.1
European Union	35,213	49,320	94.0	68.2	40.1
Others	2,261	23,035	6.0	31.8	918.8
Africa	36,629	103,271	34.4	45.6	181.9
PALOPs	33,437	99,185	91.3	96.0	196.6
Other	3,192	4,086	8.7	4.0	28.0
America	30,296	44,334	28.4	19.6	46.3
North America	7,401	5,421	24.4	12.2	-26.8
Central and South	22,895	38,913	75.6	87.8	70.0
Asia	1,770	6,318	1.7	2.8	256.9
Oceania	396	437	0.4	0.2	10.4
Stateless persons	19,698	1,075			-94.5
Double nationals	30,256	127,253			320.6

Source: INE – 1991 and 2001 Population Census.

Note: The 1991 and 2001 figures for the EU should not be compared, since they include a different number of countries (12 in 1991, 15 in 2001).

These trends were also visible in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area: it is in this region that most (almost 80%) – see Table 11 – of the African immigrants living in the country have decided to settle, due to their labour profiles. African workers represent an important labour force both in the construction sector and in the industrial cleaning and domestic services sectors. Moreover, it was in the LMA that, in the 1990's, some of the main public works were constructed (e.g., the Vasco da Gama Bridge, the railway line in the 25th of April Bridge, the North-South Axis Road, the CRIL and CREL roads, the EXPO '98 World Exhibition, etc.). Among the Africans, the PALOP nationals are much more numerous than all the other nationalities, which shows the importance of the economic and

cultural ties between the old colonial powers and their former colonies. Economic crisis and civil war are two important factors that have pushed people away from their countries, whereas better wages, economic prosperity and labour shortages are some of the factors that have pulled the immigrants to Portugal. The Cape Verdeans are the largest immigrant community in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (34.9% of the Africans), followed by the Angolans (33.7%) and the Guineans (16.4%) – see Table 15.

Table 15 – Foreigners living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, by nationality and continent of origin, 2001

Continents	N.	%
Europe	20,070	16.0
Africa	82,277	65.3
America	19,169	15.2
Asia	4,286	3.4
Oceania	125	0.1
Total	125,927	100.0
Stateless persons	810	
Double nationals	39,138	
Europe	20,070	100.0
European Union	12,335	61.5
Germany	1,545	7.7
Austria	105	0.5
Belgium	476	2.4
Denmark	120	0.6
Spain	4,346	21.7
Finland	87	0.4
France	2,355	11.7
Greece	48	0.2
The Netherlands	510	2.5
Ireland	110	0.6
Italy	754	3.8
Luxemburg	49	0.3
United Kingdom	1,593	7.9
Sweden	237	1.2
Other European countries	7,735	38.5
Bulgaria	279	1.4
Russia	731	3.6
Norway	111	0.5
Switzerland	293	1.5
Others	6,321	31.5

Continents	N.	%
Africa	82,277	100.0
PALOPs	80,427	97.8
Angola	27,706	33.7
Cape Verde	28,702	34.9
Guinea-Bissau	13,476	16.4
Mozambique	2,758	3.3
Saint Tomé & Príncipe	7,785	9.5
Other	1,850	2.2
America	19,169	100.0
North America	1,241	6.5
Canada	273	1.4
USA	968	5.1
Central and South	17,928	93.5
Brazil	16,817	87.8
Venezuela	331	1.7
Argentina	158	0.8
Other	622	3.2
Asia	4,286	100.0
China	1,122	26.2
India	1,350	31.5
Pakistan	753	17.6
Other	1,061	24.7
Oceania	125	100.0
Australia	111	88.8
Other	14	11.2

Source: INE – 2001 Population Census.

None of the other continental groups has such a high concentration of residents in Lisbon as the Asians, many of whom own small businesses – in which they employ their co-nationals – and therefore choose to live in the major urban areas where there are plenty of business opportunities (indeed, 67.8% of the Asians live in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area). Despite the fact that 24.8% of the Asian citizens residing in the LMA come from a myriad of other countries, the Chinese (26.2%) and the Indians (31.5%) are the most important Asian communities in the Lisbon region – see Table 15.

Another group that has experienced significant growth over the last decade, both in the country (+93.1%) and in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (+89.6%), is the Europeans – see Table 11. EU Citizens account for 61.5% of the citizens from this continent and the Spanish, French, British and Germans together account for over $\frac{3}{4}$ of the EU citizens living in the region (Table 15). The geographic propinquity and the economic ties between Portugal and these countries are two factors that explain their relative weight. Moreover, the increasing foreign investment made in Portugal has been concentrated in the Lisbon region, which is where the main offices of the main European and American transnational corporations can be found. A closer look at the figures indicates that it was not the EU citizens who increased their number in Portugal; rather, it was the Eastern Europeans, who, following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the economic collapse of their countries, started a westward migratory flow.

The significant increase in the number of Americans (Table 11) has primarily been due to the strong migratory inflow of Brazilians that, throughout the 1990's, left their country because of the economic and social instability. Their coming to Portugal has to do with the historical ties between the two countries and has very often corresponded to counter-flow migrations, especially in the Northern Littoral Region. There are also significant concentrations of Brazilians in the areas where the tourism and restaurant sectors are economically important, such as the Algarve and the LMA. Speaking the same language allows them to work directly with the public, performing tasks such as waiting at tables and working behind the counter in shops. It is a somewhat polarized migratory group: there are also some highly skilled Brazilians that work in the IT, marketing and advertising sectors or as skilled professionals in the Lisbon region.

The sex ratio analysis indicates how unbalanced some of these national groups are in terms of gender, reflecting the nature of migration (labour vs. professional) and the moment of the immigrants' arrival in Portugal (Table 16). The sex ratio of the Portuguese population shows a predominance of women, an expected feature of "mature" populations, due to the longer life expectancy of females.

The migration to Portugal of highly skilled professionals from the European Union countries, who often come as couples, leads to a sex ratio that is very close to that of the Portuguese population. Only in the LMA is there a slight predominance of men. The characteristics of the labour migration of both the PALOP nationals and the Brazilians – which is usually characterised by men coming first and sending for their families at a latter time – leads to sex ratios that indicate a clear predominance of men. However, among the citizens from the PALOP countries, the figures are very close to 1, which indicates a more mature stage of migration than is the case for the recently arrived Brazilians. Women from the PALOP countries have been joining their country fellows in their migration journey and settlement for a long time, whereas Brazilian migrants and their families have not yet reached that stage.

Table 16 – Sex ratio of the various national groups (2001)

Geographic units	National groups			
	Portuguese	European Union	PALOP	Brazil
Portugal	0.929	0.942	1.098	1.136
Lisbon MA	0.910	1.014	1.087	1.248

Source: INE – 2001 Population Census (calculations by the authors).

2. A new migratory flow: the Eastern Europeans

Considering that the characteristics of the immigration flows to Portugal have undergone profound changes in recent times, especially after the enactment of Decree-Law n.4/2001 (of January 10th), it is important to take a

look at the data regarding the permanence permits that have been issued by the Foreigners and Borders Office in the past few years. Only when a valid labour contract is presented to the SEF officers is the foreign citizen granted a permanence permit. In order to renew it, the worker again has to present a valid labour contract and the permit can only be renewed for a maximum period of five years. Therefore, the data thus obtained cannot be directly compared with the figures that were reached in the Population Census that was carried out by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and which likely included immigrants in an illegal situation. Moreover, the SEF data only considers the area of residence as stated by the immigrant at the time of the application. Considering the high level of residential mobility of these populations, this allows only for a glimpse of the settlement pattern at the moment of arrival and does not take into account the latter residential mobility of the immigrants.

In order to reach a more comprehensive picture of the number of foreign citizens in Portugal, one should add the number of foreign citizens holding residence permits to the number of those with permanence permits. Despite having different legal status and different life projects regarding the duration of their stay, both of these groups reside in the country and therefore make up the foreign population of the country. According to the SEF data, if one adds the 126,901 permanence permits issued in 2001 to the 223,602 foreign residents already in the country, we reach a total figure of 350,503 foreign citizens living in Portugal by the year 2001. This amounts to approximately 3.4% of the resident population - Table 17 clearly indicates a significant growth in the share of the foreign citizens relative to the country's population. From 5.5 foreigners per 1,000 inhabitants in 1981, the figure has jumped to 11.6 in 1991, nearly tripling in the following ten years to 33.8 foreigners per 1,000 residents in 2001.

Table 17 – Evolution of the resident population, number of foreign residents and foreign residents per 1,000 inhabitants (1981-2001)

Years	Resident population	Foreign residents	Foreign citizens/ 1000 inhabitants
1981	9,833,014	54,414	5.5
1991	9,867,147	113,978	11.6
2001	10,356,117	*350,503	33.8

Source: INE – 1991, 2001 Population Census; SEF webpage.

* Including 126,901 permanence permits.

However, the growth in the number of foreigners living in Portugal and the new geographical origins of these people are worth a closer look. Since the enactment of the aforementioned decree-law and up until October 31st, 2002, the Foreigners and Borders Office issued 169,953 permanence permits to citizens of 147 different nationalities. The main region of origin of this wave of immigrants has been the European continent, with more than half of the permits (55.9%), followed at a long distance by the American (20.5%) and African continents (16.0%) – Table 18.

The statistical data indicates a radical change in the predominant flows of immigrants arriving in Portugal. Up until the end of the year 2000, the largest immigrant group living in Portugal was the Africans, particularly those from the Portuguese Speaking Countries. A closer look at the predominant nationalities of the recent immigration flows allows us to understand the reasons behind this sudden shift (Tables 18 and 19). The overwhelming majority of these new immigrants have come both from former USSR republics that have become independent countries and from other Eastern European countries. The largest share corresponds to the Ukrainians (63.5% of the Eastern Europeans, or 35.5% of the total), followed by the Moldavians (12.4% and 6.9%, respectively) and the Romanians (10.6% and 5.9%, respectively).

Table 18 – Permanence permits issued between January 10th, 2001 and October 31st, 2002, by nationality and continent of origin

Continents	N	%	Continents	N	%
Europe	94,923	55.9			
Africa	27,196	16.0	Sub-Saharan Africa	3,059	11.3
America	34,914	20.5	Ghana	206	0.8
Asia	12,793	7.5	Guinea Conakry	1,387	5.1
Oceania	20	0.01	Nigeria	208	0.8
Stateless persons	25	0.01	Senegal	674	2.5
Unknown nationality	82	0.05	Other	584	2.1
Total	169,953	100.0			
			America	34,914	100.0
Europe	94,923	100.0	North America	92	0.3
Eastern Europe	94,910	99.99	Canada	28	0.1
Belarus	1,068	1.1	USA	60	0.2
Bulgaria	2,634	2.8	Other	4	0.01
Georgia	895	0.9	Central and South	34,822	99.7
Latvia	246	0.3	Brazil	33,820	96.9
Lithuania	904	1.0	Colombia	175	0.5
Moldova	11,746	12.4	Cuba	182	0.5
Poland	214	0.2	Ecuador	170	0.5
Romania	10,089	10.6	Other	475	1.4
Russia	6,431	6.8			
Ukraine	60,310	63.5	Asia	12,793	100.0
Other	373	0.4	Bangladesh	904	7.1
Western Europe	13	0.01	China	3,819	29.9
			India	3,346	26.2
Africa	27,196	100.0	Kazakhstan	758	5.9
PALOPs	21,759	80.0	Nepal	228	1.8
Angola	7,236	26.6	Pakistan	3,027	23.7
Cape Verde	7,728	28.4	Uzbekistan	398	3.1
Guinea Bissau	4,127	15.2	Other	313	2.4
Mozambique	442	1.6			
Saint Tomé & Príncipe	2,226	8.2	Oceania	20	100.0
Northern Africa	2,378	8.7	Australia	10	50.0
Algeria	139	0.5	New Zealand	5	25.0
Egypt	681	2.5	Other	5	25.0
Mauritania	38	0.1			
Morocco	1,384	5.1			
Tunisia	134	0.5			
Other	2	0.01			

Source: Foreigners and Borders Office.

Table 19 – Permanence permits issued between January 10th, 2001 and October 31st, 2002: main nationalities (%)

Most important nationalities	%
Ukraine	35.5
Brazil	19.9
Moldova	6.9
Romania	5.9
Cape Verde	4.5
Angola	4.3
Russia	3.8
Guinea-Bissau	2.4
China	2.2
India	2.0
Pakistan	1.8
Total	89.2

After the economic collapse of countries such as Russia, the Ukraine and Romania, many skilled and semi-skilled workers in these countries found themselves either jobless or earning a much lower salary than they previously used to. One of the ways to improve their situation was to emigrate: considering the limited opportunities to the East, the most attractive alternative was of course the West. Through either networks of friends and relatives or illegal smuggling organisations, Eastern Europeans began choosing Portugal as a major destination. The massive investments that are currently being made in infrastructures, accessibilities and other public/private works require an abundant labour force – and these opportunities are well known throughout Europe.

Equally impressive is the number of permanence permits given to Brazilian citizens, reinforcing a trend that can be felt since the beginning of the 1990's (almost 20% of all the permanence permits) – Table 19. Three of the five Portuguese-speaking African countries (Cape Verde, Angola and Guinea Bissau) are also among the nationalities that have applied for the largest number of permanence permits, which indicates that the flows from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa remain significant (11.2% of the total). A considerable number of permits has also been granted to China and India nationals (2.2% and 2.0% of the total). Also worthy of mention is the number of citizens from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Kazakhstan who have been granted permanence permits. These three countries have never had any economic or

cultural relations with Portugal in the past, but their citizens now increasingly perceive Portugal as an attractive place to work and set up their businesses.

The number of permanence permits granted to the citizens of each nationality is only available for the country as a whole, but it is possible to draw a picture of their regional distribution in the main Portuguese regions (Table 20). This regional distribution allows us to perceive the main areas of settlement of the immigrants that have just arrived, since the applications are usually handed in at the nearest branch of the Foreigners and Borders Office. As we can see, the Lisbon and Alentejo Region accounts for the largest share of the permanence permits (53.2%) issued in 2001 and 2002, which reflects the importance of this regional labour market for those coming to Portugal to work. The number of permanence permits issued in the Northern and Central regions is much lower, yet indicates an important change in the immigrants' settlement pattern. Unlike the trends of the past – when immigrants usually concentrated solely in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area –, many Eastern European nationals have tended to settle all over the country, taking jobs in a wide variety of activities (agriculture, manufacturing industry, construction, public works, semi-skilled and unskilled services, etc.). A large number of Brazilians have settled in the *distritos* of Porto, Braga and Aveiro, which indicates a considerable migration counter-flow. Hence the relatively high proportion of permanence permit applications submitted throughout the country.

Table 20 – Permanence permits issued between January 10th, 2001 and October 31st, 2002 in the various regional branches of the Foreigners and Borders Office

Regional Branch	2001		2002		Total		Prorogations in 2002	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
North	20,142	15.9	4,332	10.1	24,474	14.4	9,209	13.8
Centre	19,713	15.5	7,894	18.3	27,607	16.2	11,532	17.2
Lisbon and Alentejo	64,749	51.0	25,600	59.5	90,349	53.2	31,778	47.5
Algarve	17,901	14.1	3,971	9.2	21,872	12.9	12,099	18.1
Azores	2,713	2.1	922	2.1	3,635	2.1	1,369	2.0
Madeira	1,683	1.3	333	0.8	2,016	1.2	889	1.3
Total	126,901	100.0	43,052	100.0	169,953	100.0	66,876	100.0

Source: Foreigners and Borders Office.

According to Decree-Law n. 4/2001, permanence permits can be renewed for a maximum period of five years, subject to the yearly presentation of a valid labour contract. In 2002, the Foreigners and Borders Office approved 66,876 prorogations, whose territorial pattern was similar to that of the permanence permits that were issued in that year (Table 20). The only difference worthy of note is the slightly higher share of the Algarve and the relatively lower share of the Lisbon and Alentejo region as compared to the territorial pattern of the permanence permits. This might indicate that an increasing number of immigrants have been finding jobs in a region – the Algarve – that is attractive, among other things, due to its flourishing tourism and accommodation, construction and early-season vegetable and flower production sectors.

3. The foreigners' distribution in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

If we take a look at the geographical distribution of the foreigners in the various municipalities of the LMA in 2001 (Tables 21 and 22; Figure 15), we see that the Northern Bank of the metropolitan area seems more attractive to foreign citizens than the Southern Bank (79.2%, as compared to 20.8%). Foreign citizens are clearly concentrated in the Northern bank of the river, as we can also see by comparing the relative share of the foreign population that lives in the North Bank and that of the Portuguese residents that live in that part of the LMA (79.2% and 73.0%, respectively). Despite this general concentration of the foreign citizens in the North Bank, the significant presence of Africans and Americans in the South Bank is also worthy of note. In the South Bank, there is a large number of PALOP citizens, living in large social housing neighbourhoods, who have benefited from the Special Rehousing Programmes – particularly in the Seixal, Moita and Almada municipalities –, as well as a considerable number of Brazilians, who have adopted a wider variety of settlement strategies, but nevertheless have tended to concentrate in the Almada and Setúbal municipalities. The highest absolute number of foreign residents can be found in the Sintra municipality, followed at a distance by the

nation's capital. This is a new fact as compared to 1991, when the Lisbon municipality hosted the largest foreign community in the metropolitan area. The Loures, Amadora and Cascais municipalities also host a large number of foreign citizens. In the South Bank, the Almada and Seixal municipalities are the most significant in quantitative terms.

Table 21 - Resident population by continent of origin, 2001

Geographic units	Resident population	Portuguese	Foreigners						Stateless persons	Double nationals
			Total	Europe	Africa	America	Asians	Oceania		
Portugal	10,356,117	10,001,074	226,715	72,355	103,271	44,334	6,318	437	1,075	127,253
Portuguese mainland	9,869,343	9,529,675	220,840	70,523	102,379	41,295	6,228	415	1,055	117,773
Lisbon M. A.	2,682,687	2,516,812	125,927	20,070	82,277	19,169	4,286	125	810	39,138
Southern Bank	714,589	679,370	26,142	3,176	17,608	4,776	563	19	158	8,919
Northern Bank	1,968,098	1,837,442	99,785	16,894	64,669	14,393	3,723	106	652	30,219

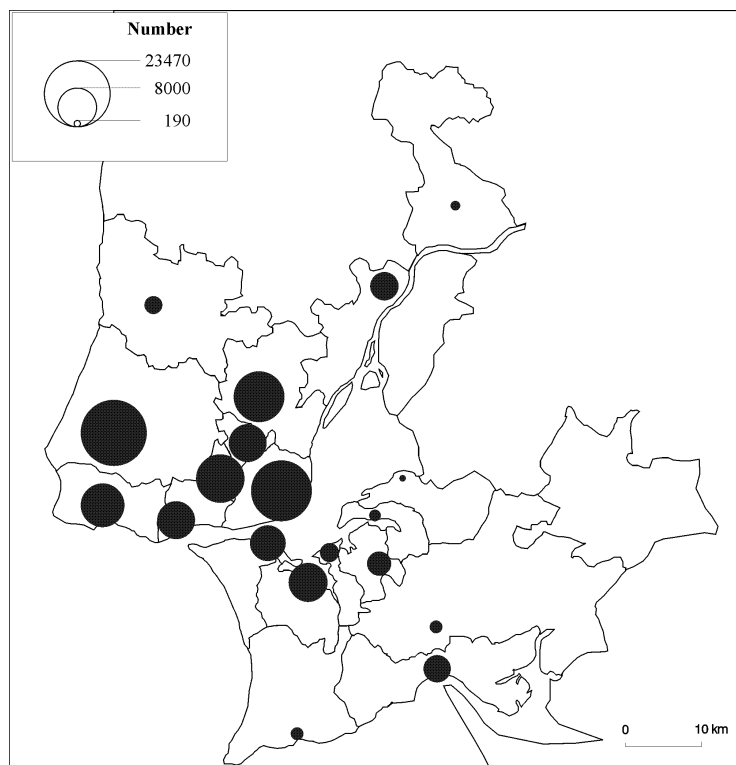
Source: INE - 2001 Population Census.

Table 22 - Resident population by continent of origin, 2001 (%)

Geographic units	Resident population	Portuguese	Foreigners						Stateless persons	Double nationals
			Total	Europe	Africa	America	Asians	Oceania		
Portugal	10,356,117	10,001,074	226,715	72,355	103,271	44,334	6,318	437	1,075	127,253
Portuguese mainland	9,869,343	9,529,675	220,840	70,523	102,379	41,295	6,228	415	1,055	117,773
Lisbon M. A.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Southern Bank	26.6	27.0	20.8	15.8	21.4	24.9	13.1	15.2	158	8919
Northern Bank	73.4	73.0	79.2	84.2	78.6	75.1	86.9	84.8	652	30219

Source: INE - 2001 Population Census.

Fig. 15– Number of foreigners living in the various municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 2001



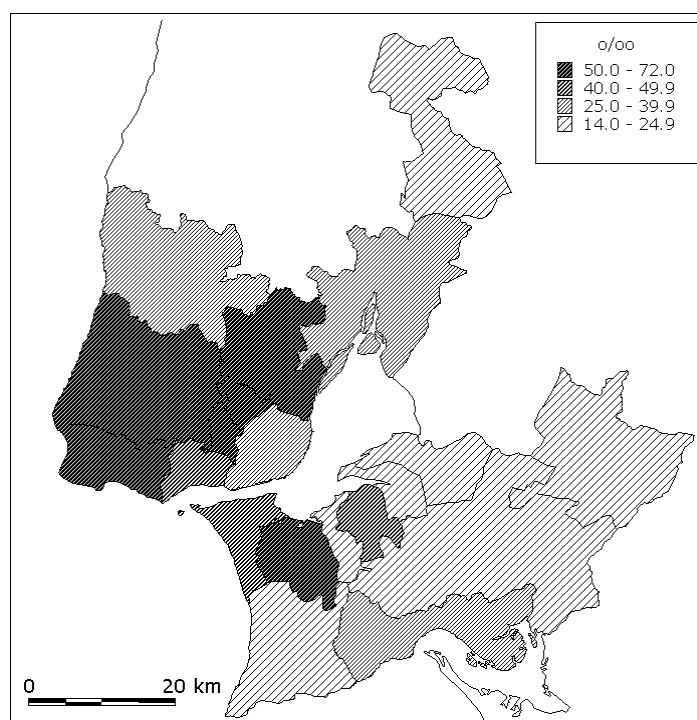
Source: INE - 2001 Population Census.

In relative terms, the picture is slightly different, since some of these municipalities are also home to a large share of the Portuguese population. Thus, the Amadora municipality has the highest proportion of foreigners per 1000 inhabitants (71.1‰), followed by other suburban municipalities – Loures (67.5‰), Sintra (64.5‰) and Cascais (60.2‰) – see Table 23 and Fig. 16. The differences between the North and South Banks are striking: while there are 50.7 foreigners per 1,000 residents in the former, that figure is as low as 36.6‰ in the latter. The metropolitan area has a much higher proportion of foreign citizens than the rest of the country and is home to 55.5% of all the foreigners living in Portugal.

Table 23 - Share of the various foreign groups relative to the total population (2001) (‰)

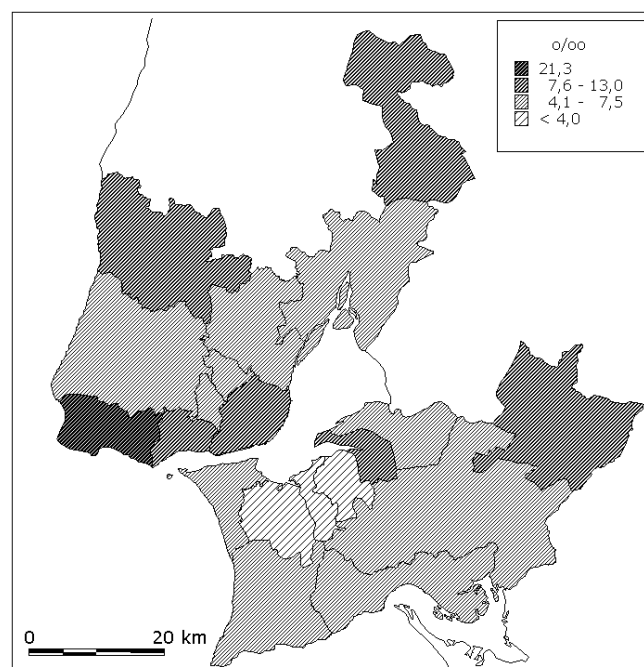
Geographic units	All foreigners	Europeans	Africans	Americans	Asians	Oceanians	Stateless persons	Double nationals
Portugal	21.9	7.0	10.0	4.3	0.6	0.04	0.10	12.3
Portuguese mainland	22.4	7.1	10.4	4.2	0.6	0.04	0.11	11.9
Lisbon M A	46.9	7.5	30.7	7.1	1.6	0.05	0.30	14.6
North Bank	50.7	8.6	32.9	7.3	1.9	0.05	0.33	15.4
South Bank	36.6	4.4	24.6	6.7	0.8	0.03	0.22	12.5
LMA as a % of the country	55.5	27.7	79.7	43.2	67.8	28.6	75.3	30.8

Fig. 16 – Number of foreigners living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



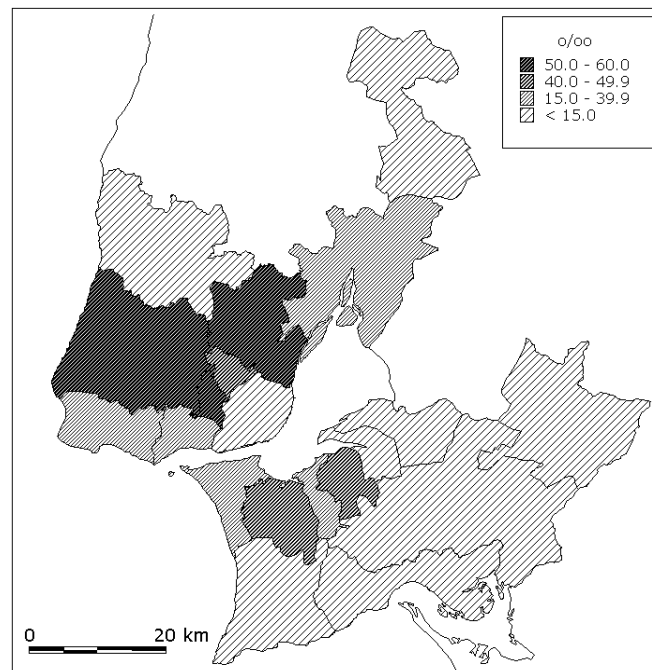
In what regards the continents of origin of the foreigners that live in the LMA, there are considerable differences between the region's 19 municipalities. The Europeans are overly represented in the Lisbon municipality (10.2‰), in the western municipality of Cascais (21.3‰) and in the northern municipality of Mafra (12.3‰) – see Fig. 17. Lisbon and Cascais – particularly the latter (the Estoril Coast) – are areas that have a good social and environmental image, as well as a certain tradition as places of choice for both the national and the foreign upper classes. The Europeans living in these municipalities are, for the most part, EU citizens from either Spain, France, the U.K. or Germany. In the Mafra municipality, most of the Europeans are not EU nationals; rather, the majority consists of immigrants that have recently arrived from Eastern European countries such as the Ukraine, Moldova and Romania and who have found jobs in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

Fig. 17 – Number of European citizens living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



In what regards the largest continental group – the Africans –, their territorial pattern does not indicate a primary location in the areas that have the best image; rather, they display a clearly more peripheral pattern – their most significant concentrations can be found either in the suburban municipalities of the North Bank (Amadora, Loures, Sintra) or in the South Bank (especially Seixal and Moita) – see Fig 18. In these municipalities, the Special Rehousing Programme (PER) has allowed for numerous families that used to live in shanty neighbourhoods to move to large social housing neighbourhoods.

Fig. 18 – Number of African citizens living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



The citizens that have come from the North American continent (Fig. 19) can mostly be found in the Cascais (1.8‰), Oeiras (0.8‰) and Azambuja (0.6‰) municipalities. The former two are traditional areas of residence for affluent foreigners in the Lisbon region, whereas Azambuja is a pleasant rural area not far from the capital. With respect to South America, the Brazilians are by far the most significant community. Their settlement areas of choice are Mafra (15.7‰), Cascais (14.8‰), Setúbal (12.3‰) and Almada (8.7‰) – see Fig. 20.

Fig. 19 – Number of North American citizens living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001

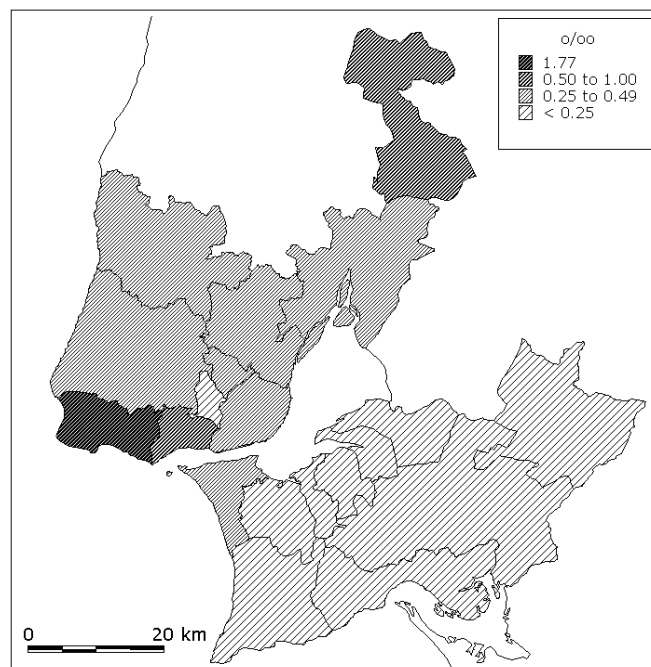
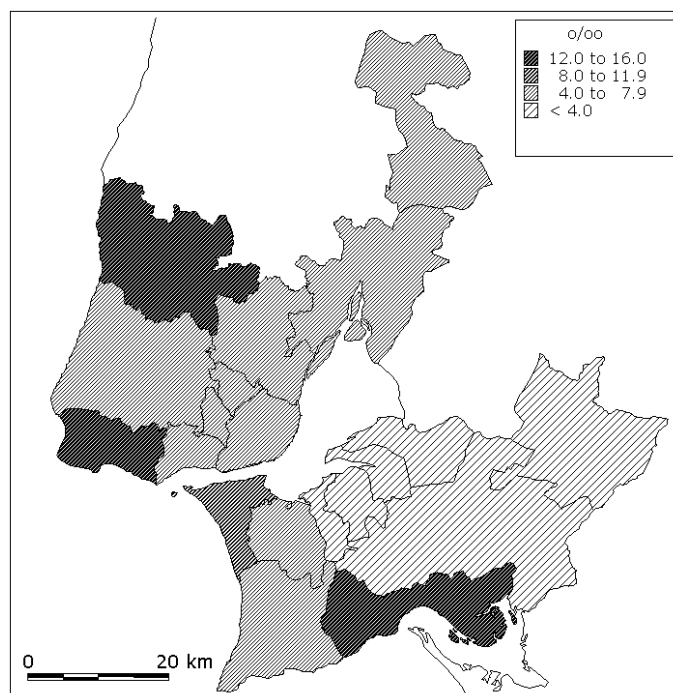


Fig. 20 – Number of Brazilians citizens living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area per 1,000 inhabitants, 2001



The share of the Asians in the resident population of the LMA is much less significant than that of the other continental groups, but it is nevertheless worth mentioning that there is a significant presence of Indians and Pakistanis in the municipalities of Lisbon and its immediate periphery – Loures and Odivelas.

An analysis based on the segregation indexes for the main national groups living in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region (see Table 24) allows for some interesting conclusions. The indexes for 1981, 1991 and 2001 indicate a global tendency towards greater ethnic segregation of the metropolitan space in the 1980's and 1990's, which has naturally taken place alongside an increase in the level of social segregation of the space.

Table 24 - Segregation Indexes for the main foreign communities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Region * (1981, 1991 and 2001)

Nationality	Segregation Indexes		
	1981	1991	2001
Portuguese Nationals	14.2	17.4	15.8
EEC(12)	27.8	30.5	32.8
Germans	25.2	27.1	31.8
Spanish	33.7	36.6	35.5
French	15.4	19.5	25.6
U.K. citizens	40.9	41.2	37.9
African nationals (total)	18.1	21.4	25.6
Cape Verdeans	25.2	27.5	24.4
Guinea-Bissau nationals	16.1	31.0	34.7
Angolans	11.1	14.5	26.6
Santomese	37.6	30.2	36.4
Mozambicans	11.8	22.5	15.5
Brazilians	18.8	24.2	17.6
USA and Canada citizens	30.2	29.3	23.7

Source: Malheiros, 2000, p. 225; INE – 2001 Population Census.

* Does not include the Mafra and Azambuja municipalities.

A closer look at the figures for the various communities shows that the Europeans, especially the English, the Spanish and the Germans, have the highest levels of spatial segregation. The residential preference of most of these foreign citizens goes out to two or three municipalities in the metropolitan region (namely Lisbon, Cascais and Oeiras). Again, these municipalities have a certain

tradition as preferential areas for wealthy foreigners due to their natural and scenic beauty. The highest levels of spatial segregation displayed by the African communities are those of the Santomese (the smallest group among the Africans that have come from the former Portuguese colonies) and of the nationals of Guinea Bissau (a community that includes many skilled and educated professionals that often perform unskilled jobs and which has, between 1991 and 2001, grown at the fastest rate among the communities from the five PALOP countries²⁸). Another community that has experienced remarkable growth during the 1990's is the Angolans, who have, at the same time, also increased their level of segregation. Over the last decade, there has been a reinforcement of the levels of spatial segregation of the communities that have also experienced the highest growth rates, due to the inflow of immigrants who have tried to live close to their country fellows. The Cape Verdean community – the longest-standing of the PALOP communities – has experienced a decrease in its level of segregation, which indicates a higher level of integration in the Portuguese society: the immigrants and their offspring, having been in Portugal for a longer time and having enjoyed a successful migratory path, have become less dependent upon solidarity networks that rely on other members of the same community and have more frequently looked for housing in neighbourhoods that are not necessarily close to their country fellows. The high level of heterogeneity among the Mozambicans – which include both black citizens and immigrants of Indian descent, with very different social, economic and religious backgrounds –, as well as their moment of arrival in Portugal, explain the changes in their segregation index that have been visible over the past few decades. The most successful groups, such as the wealthy Ishmaelite community, have concentrated in the Lisbon and Seixal municipalities, whereas most of the Hindus live in the Loures and Odivelas municipalities and while black Mozambicans are scattered all over the metropolitan territory.

²⁸ According to Fernando Luis Machado (2002, p. 176) "... the Guineans are an example that goes clearly against the idea that the African immigration to Portugal (...) is exclusively composed (...) of non-skilled labour force. There is no doubt that the vast majority of this migration ends up being incorporated in the non-skilled sectors of the labour market, but this does not necessarily mean that the immigrants lack skills."

These polarised segregation indexes lend themselves to an analysis in terms of active vs. passive segregation. Although all the immigrant groups display a tendency towards spatial clustering, the segregation among the Europeans and the North Americans is the result of an active process, because their access to information and their wage levels amplify their range of possible choices. Therefore, even though the level of spatial concentration is conditioned by external factors, the ability of these groups to overcome these constraints is much higher than that of the majority of the members of the African communities. In the case of these latter, the high level of segregation is definitely the result of a more passive process that has to do with their limited ability to control the external constraints of the segregation processes.

A remarkable feature of the city of Lisbon – as well as of other Southern European cities – is the higher levels of suburbanisation among the ethnic minorities and the immigrants, who often live in slums in the periphery rather than in the city centre. Segregation is more visible at the neighbourhood level, because, in the same municipality, one might find upper-class residential areas next to slums in which the immigrants and the poor people in general are overly represented.

The segregation indexes that were calculated by Malheiros for the major minority groups in eight European cities (four in Southern Europe and four in Northern European countries) demonstrate the existence of lower levels of segregation in Lisbon, Madrid and Milan (the exception is Barcelona), as compared to Birmingham, Brussels, Manchester and Rotterdam. As this author argues, these results “... seem to confirm the tradition of more reduced levels of spatial segregation which, in the past, were associated with the social dimension but now incorporate an ethnic one. Social segregation has become socio-ethnic segregation in the metropolises of the South ...” (2002, p. 119).

4. The foreign population and the labour market

The analysis of the characteristics of the foreign labour force in the Lisbon Region is a very difficult task, due to the lack of statistical information at the regional level. Regretably, the regional statistic tables provided by the

National Institute of Statistics (INE - Employment Survey and Demographic Statistics), the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity and even the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF) do not include any data with regard to the foreign labour force. Moreover, the information criteria have changed throughout the years, which limits the possibility of diachronic analysis. Therefore, we have decided to analyse some of the features of the immigrant labour force at the national level instead. This option was made because, as we have mentioned in the previous section, the majority of the immigrants that are legally residing in the country is concentrated in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Besides, a large part of the public administration is also concentrated in this area, as are the most modern sectors of the national industry – especially in the Setúbal district –, a significant part of the banking and financial sectors, all sorts of commerce and services and – particularly since the early 1990's – some highly dynamic construction and public works activities.

4.1. Foreign labour stocks

The importance of the immigrant labour force in the Portuguese labour market has been on the increase. Most of the immigrants claim to have moved to Portugal for economic reasons. According to the Foreigners and Borders Office, out of the 17,346 new immigrants that applied for resident status in 2001, only 14,220 indicated the reason why they had chosen this country: 26% of them indicated employment as the main reason, family reunification has been pointed out by 24.8%, while 44% mentioned other reasons, mostly having to do with economic motives. The remaining 5.9% mentioned the study or the retirement.

The total stock of foreign labour in Portugal has experienced a significant increase in the 1990's. Over this 10-year period, its growth rate was of 81.7%, bringing the total number of workers from 54, 939 in 1991 to approximately 99, 800 in 2000.

As we might expect, the immigrant workers that settled in Portugal between 1990 and 2000 have come from three main origins:

- **Africa**, the region of origin of the majority of the immigrants, and in particular the PALOP countries (23,386 workers in 1991, 45,400 in 2000 – see Table 25). The Capeverdeans are the largest national group, accounting for 72.4% of the PALOP workers in 1991 and 50.9% in 2000. There have been some signs of diversification in the composition of the foreign labour force (e.g. an increase in the number of immigrants from Angola and Guinea-Bissau), but the Capeverdeans remain the most significant group.
- **Europe**, in 1991, there were 15,999 people from the EU working in Portugal. By 1998, this figure had risen to approximately 25,500. The most significant nationalities within this group are the United Kingdom, Spain and Germany.
- **The American continent**, particularly the Brazilians, who, with 10,600 workers in Portugal (2000), were the second largest foreign group in the Portuguese labour market in that year.

As far as the aforementioned groups are concerned, the Africans and the Brazilians have experienced similar annual growth, while the Europeans have increased at a slower pace. This has mostly been due to the differences in the educational and professional profiles of these groups, to the type of workmanship needs that the Portuguese entrepreneurs have sought to meet since the mid-1990's (unskilled or semi-skilled people to work in construction, cleaning, retail trade and horeca²⁹) and to the wages levels of the Portuguese labour market.

Table 25 - Foreign labour stocks by selected nationalities

Countries	1991	1995	1998	2000
Cape Verde	16,940	21,849	21,936	23,100
Brazil	5,362	9,618	9,570	10,600
Angola	1,665	7,990	8,177	9,700
Guinea-Bissau	2,347	7,023	7,215	8,900
United Kingdom	4,219	5,416	6,022	6,500
Spain	3,876	4,734	5,491	6,800
Germany	2,951	4,133	4,768	5,300
United States	2,710	3,047	3,064	3,200
France	2,107	2,868	3,469	4,100
Mozambique	1,609	1,899	1,900	1,800

²⁹ Horeca stands for hotels, restaurants and cafés.

Saint Tome and Prince	825	1,906	1,940	1,900
Netherlands	997	1,335	1,558	1,800
PALOP	23,386	40,667	41,168	45,400
Of which: EU	15,990	21,148	25,483	...
Total	54,939	84,383	88,605	99,800

Source: INE – Demographic Statistics and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

According to the data provided by the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity regarding the workers employed by the firms that are registered in this institution, the share of the foreign workers in Portugal has experienced a substantial increase, from 0.7% in 1991 to around 1.6% in 1998 – see Table 26. This table shows the importance of the European and African workers for the Portuguese firms, even though these two groups usually perform distinct tasks. The highest relative increase of the Africans does not at all mean that the other two groups have experienced a decrease in absolute terms. Probably the best explanation for this evolution lies in the aforementioned behaviour of the Portuguese entrepreneurs, who have generally sought, first and foremost, to employ unskilled personnel (among which the Africans are clearly over-represented) and, possibly, in the type of insertion in the labour market that is usual among the Brazilians and the Europeans. Actually, many members of these two latter groups either are independent professionals or work in small firms, in which case they are not included in the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity database.

Table 26 - Foreign workers in the Portuguese labour market

Year	1991	1995	1998
Workers	854,658	750,397	777,198
Foreign workers	5,865	7,685	12,084
(%) Foreign workers	0.69	1.02	1.55
Origins (%)			
EU	25.4	25.9	19.2
Portuguese-Speaking African Countries	49.5	52.7	65.4
Brazil	13.9	10.3	6.1
Other	11.2	11.1	9.3

Source: DETEFP/Ministry of Labour and Solidarity – Social Balance.

It is also important to recall that the number of foreign workers that are officially registered in Portugal is of course an underestimation, due to the significant number of clandestine workers. If the statistics were to include them as well, the figures presented above for the three main immigrant groups (especially the Africans and the Brazilians) would be much higher.

As we have seen in the last section, a new wave of immigrant workers has started to arrive in the country in 1998/1999: the Eastern Europeans. Most of these immigrants entered the country illegally and applied for permanence permits under the aforementioned D-L n. 4/2001. However, permanence permits are considered temporary authorisations that aim to provide a solution to a transitory situation: non-EU foreign workers are, as a general principle, legally required to possess an adequate visa.

As we have mentioned in section 3, the Foreigners and Borders Office issued 169,953 permanence permits to foreign citizens – most of which from Eastern Europe – between January 10th, 2001 and October 31st, 2002. Estimates for 2000 point to a total of 99,800 registered foreign workers in the Portuguese labour market, which corresponds to an increase by approximately 7,800 as compared to the figure for 1999. It is the greatest increase in the whole of the second half of the 1990's and the continuation of the growth trend initiated in 1997. To this figure we should add the 141,636 contracts that were registered by foreign workers in the Portuguese Labour Inspection up until December 31st, 2001. This is a clear indication of the insufficiency of the internal supply to fully meet the internal demand for labour, particularly in the sectors that require hard, low-skilled work, such as construction, industrial and domestic cleaning, shop vending and, more recently, agriculture, horeca and certain branches of the labour-intensive industry.

In a recent report by the Ministry of Labour entitled *Workmanship needs of the Portuguese Labour Market (diagnosis and short-term perspectives*³⁰), an estimate for 2001 indicated the need for 40, 000³¹ foreign workers. According to the results of a survey that was given out to a sample of Portuguese

³⁰ This annual report published by the Government is supposed to predict the annual need for foreign labour in the various activity sectors.

³¹ It is worth noting that this estimate has clearly underestimated the real need for immigrant labour, since this number is much lower than the actual number of permanence permits that were granted to foreign workers in 2001.

entrepreneurs and which was included in the same study, the sectors with the highest need for foreign labour in the second half of 2001 were the construction and public works (about 50% of the new workers to be recruited), horeca (23%), agriculture (12%), retail trade (8%) and industrial cleaning (5%)³² sectors.

4.2. Activity indicators

The mostly economic nature of the migrations into Portugal is confirmed by the low average age of the immigrants, by the share of the working population in the main immigrant groups and also by their high average rates of labour force participation.

In the beginning of the 1990's, 87.8% of the foreigners fell within the 15-64 year-old age group (Table 27). The ratio between workers and non-workers increased from 0.98 in 1991 to 1.15 in 1996 (Table 28). Only among the immigrants from America and Australia were there more non-workers than workers. In what regards the Brazilians and the North-Americans, this has to do with processes of family migration, which include non-working members of the families, such as students and housewives. In addition to this, some retired Americans have tended to settle in Southern European countries like Portugal, in order to take advantage of the climate and the favourable cost of living.

Table 27 - Immigrants by Age Groups and Selected Nationalities
Annual average (1990-1992)

Nationalities	Age groups			Total
	0-14	15-64	65 or more	
PALOP	3,200	60,544	3,266	67,010
Brazil	1,082	11,366	265	12,713
Europe	493	28,615	5,588	34,696
Total immigrants	4,775	100,525	9,119	114,419

Source: Baganha, 2000.

³² This survey was given out to firms that employed over 20 workers, out of a selected group of activity branches in which the foreigners usually work or in which the unsatisfied labour needs are apparently more acute: agriculture, fishing, construction and public works, retail trade, horeca, safety services and other non-specified services.

Table 28 - Labour market participation

Continent of origin	Ratio working/non working	
	1991	1996
Europe	1.19	1.24
Africa	1.06	1.26
North America	0.64	0.71
South America	0.65	0.9
Asia	1.1	1.13
Oceania	1.05	0.94
Total	0.98	1.15

Source: Foreign and Border Services.

The following figures summarise our point: in 1995, the share of the working population in the total number of legal foreigners was as high as 53.5%, whereas the corresponding figure for the Portuguese residents was a mere 45%.

4.3. Professional Status

If we look at the professional status of the foreign population in 1995 and compare it with that of the Portuguese population, we notice that there is a slight bias in favour of the “wage earning” (80.3% for the foreign population, 76.9% for the domestic population – see Table 29) and of the “employers” (18.8% for the immigrants, a mere 6.4% for the Portuguese) categories. The one category of professional status in which the share of the Portuguese population is much more significant is that of the independent workers (“self-employed”).

Table 29 - Professional Status of the immigrants and of the Portuguese population (%) (1995)

Nationality	Employers	Self-employed	Wage earners	Other	Total
E.U.	38.5	1.6	59.6	0.3	100.0
PALOP	3.0	0.1	96.8	0.1	100.0
Brazilians	25.0	1.1	73.7	0.2	100.0
Total Immigrants	18.8	0.7	80.3	0.2	100.0
Portuguese	6.4	15.5	76.9	1.2	100.0

Source: Machado, 1998.

In what regards the main professional categories for each nationality, we notice that the “employers” category is particularly significant among the Europeans (38.5%). In the case of the Brazilians, the “employers” category is also relatively important, but its relative weight is closer to that of the overall Portuguese population. Certain evidence from the most recent waves of Brazilian immigration (from 1999 onwards) indicates some changes in this pattern: the most recent forms of labour market insertion seem to privilege the “wage-earning” status. Immigrants from the African countries predominate in the “3D” tasks (dirty, dangerous and demanding), such as construction and cleaning. Most of these people are of course wage-earners (97% in 1995).

4.4. Occupational distribution

The occupational distribution of the Brazilians and Europeans is strongly biased in favour of the professionals and technicians; the percentage of these occupations in the total active population is of 46% in the former and of 42% in the latter (Tables 30 and 31). Among the Europeans, the percentage of directors and managers is also quite significant. These figures are in fact higher than the corresponding figure for the Portuguese employed population, which was of approximately 23% in 1995 (it is difficult to provide a precise figure, since the occupational data in the employment surveys carried out with the domestic population is not fully comparable with that used by the Foreign and Borders Office (Baganha *et al.*, 2001).

Most of the immigrant labour force from the PALOP countries is concentrated in the construction (blue-collar) sector (80%). Domestic services also account for a significant share, but most of the work within this sector takes place in the informal market.

To sum up, the occupational structure of the foreign population is, as compared to the occupational structure of the Portuguese population, biased both towards the top (for the Brazilians and the Europeans) and towards the bottom (for the PALOP immigrants).

Table 30 – Current foreign labour force in Portugal

	1990	%	1995	%	1998	%
Foreign labour force	49,2		84,383		88,600	
By main occupation groups						
Professionals and technicians	12,7	25.8	19,777	23.4	21,655	24.4
Directors and Managers	3,5	7.1	4,835	5.7	5,160	5.8
Clerical employees	2,6	5.3	3,364	4.0	3,470	3.9
Employees in commerce, shopkeepers and vendors	4,1	8.3	6,770	8.0	7,420	8.4
Personnel and domestic services	1,8	3.7	6,742	8.0	7,560	8.5
Farmers and agriculture workers	0,9	1.8	1,077	1.3	1,095	1.2
Construction and manufacturing workers	23,6	48.0	41,818	49.6	42,240	47.8
By professional status						
Self-employed	16,619		17,130		17,886	
Wage earners	67,764		71,164		73,714	

Sources: INE - Labour Force Survey.

Table 31 - Active immigrants by occupation (annual average) (1990-1998)

Main occupation groups	PALOP	%	Europe*	%	Brazil	%	Total
Professionals and technicians	1,581	4.8	9,707	41.5	3,643	46.2	17,749
Directors and Managers	105	0.3	3,398	14.5	360	4.6	4,486
Clerical employees	1,151	3.5	1,166	5.0	609	7.7	3,115
Employees in commerce, shopkeepers and vendors	870	2.6	2,858	12.2	874	11.1	5,881
Personnel and domestic services	2,596	7.8	1,238	5.3	447	5.7	4,877
Farmers and agriculture workers	235	0.7	415	1.8	67	0.8	1,003
Construction and manufacturing workers	26,702	80.3	4,622	19.7	1,889	23.9	35,592
Active Population	33,239	100.0	23,404	100.0	7,889	100.0	72,703

Source: Baganha *et al.*, 2001.

* The average for Europe only includes the period 1992-1998.

4.5. Recent foreign labour inflows – traditional patterns and changes brought about by the recent wave of Eastern European immigration

According to the estimates of the stock of foreign labour in 2000, based on the official figures of registered immigrant inflows, the PALOP workers (especially the Cape Verdeans and the Angolans) were still predominant, accounting for 45.9% of the total. The Brazilians (around 11%) and the EU citizens (around 30%) were the two other most relevant foreign groups in the Portuguese labour market at this time.

However, this is clearly a biased picture, since the sheer number and characteristics of the legal work contracts and permanence permits issued to foreigners in 2001 during the special regularisation campaigns (which included many people that were already in the country in 2000) show that the Ukrainians, Moldovians, Romanians and Russians had already begun to immigrate in large numbers to this country. Besides, the current weight of the Brazilian immigrants in the Portuguese labour market is certainly well above the 11% that we have just mentioned.

Table 32 – Permanence permits granted to foreign workers between January 10th and December 31st, 2001, by age groups

Age Groups	number	%
15 – 24	28,526	20.1
25 – 35	66,043	46.6
36 – 54	45,883	32.4
55 – 64	1,132	0.8
+ 65 years	52	0.0
Total	141,636	100.0

Source: Portuguese Labour Inspection (IGT) Report, 2001.

The age structure of the immigrants that obtained permanence permits between January 10th and December 31st, 2001 is similar to that of the previous migration flows, which predominantly came from the Portuguese-speaking African countries. The recent immigrant population can indeed be considered quite young, since 66% falls within the 15-35 year-old age group (see Table 32).

In what regards their gender structure, there is a clear predominance of males (76.6% of the total), which is much more noticeable in the case of the Eastern Europeans than in that of the Brazilians and PALOP citizens (see Table 33). The only nationality for which more women than men were granted permanence permits in 2001 was the Capeverdeans. These differences have to do with the migration stages that the various communities are going through. Eastern European immigrants have, for the most part, recently arrived in the country – often through human trafficking networks that are extremely aware of the needs of the international labour markets and which have mostly sought to bring men into the country, in order to meet the needs of the Portuguese market, particularly its construction sector. It is only in a latter stage that the women come to join their relatives, after these have found jobs and work contracts for them. On the other hand, the immigrants that have come from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa have been in Portugal for much longer, having established strong family and solidarity networks. Therefore, the relative weight of the women in the workforce from these countries is much higher: in fact, many of these women were already working illegally in the country in 2001, having taken advantage of the regularisation campaign that took place in that year to legalise their situation.

Table 33 – Work contracts celebrated with foreign citizens holding permanence permits in 2001

(January 10th - December 31st, 2001)

Country of Origin (+5000)	Men	%	Women	%	Total
Ukraine	42,545	83.6	8,353	16.4	50,898
Brazil	16,610	64.0	9,330	36.0	25,940
Moldava	8,337	86.8	1,270	13.2	9,607
Romenia	6,953	82.5	1,479	17.5	8,432
Cape Verde	3,237	48.8	3,398	51.2	6,635
Angola	3,645	56.5	2,809	43.5	6,454
Russia	4,105	75.0	1,368	25.0	5,473
Others	23,081	81.9	5,116	18.1	28,197
Total	108,513	76.6	33,123	23.4	141,636

Source: Portuguese Labour Inspection (IGT) Report, 2001.

Although traditionally polarised between highly qualified occupations (managers, directors, professionals) and unskilled or low skilled jobs (especially in the construction and industrial and domestic cleaning sectors), the structure of the immigrants' participation in the Portuguese labour market seems to have undergone some significant changes in recent years, which brought about an increase in the share of the second group. The comparison of the 1999 and 2000 data regarding the inflow of active foreigners according to their occupations (Tables 34 and 35) shows not only a substantial growth in the absolute and relative number of PALOP workers (the group that traditionally fills the least-skilled positions), but also a very significant increase in the "manufacturing and construction workers" and "non skilled workers" categories (39.4% of the total inflow of foreign workers in 1999; 51.5% in 2000).

Table 34 - Foreign labour inflows in 1999 by occupation groups

Occupation groups	Total		EU		Africa	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
Managers and Directors	371	9.1	300	15.3	5	0.3
Professionals	970	23.9	798	40.8	40	2.7
Intermediate Technicians	382	9.4	247	12.6	26	1.8
Clerical employees	134	3.3	78	4.0	27	1.9
Semi-skilled service & commerce employees	444	10.9	248	12.7	70	4.8
Agriculture and fishery workers	61	1.5	40	2.0	14	1.0
Manufacturing and construction workers	1,003	24.7	147	7.5	768	52.7
Transport workers and tool operators	96	2.4	44	2.2	37	2.5
Non qualified workers	597	14.7	56	2.9	469	32.2
Total	4,058	100.0	1,958	100.0	1,456	100.0

Source: INE – 1999 Demographic Statistics.

Table 35 - Foreign labour Inflows in 2000 by occupation groups

Occupation groups	Total		EU		Africa	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
Managers and Directors	478	6.1	313	15.2	26	0.6
Professionals	1,267	16.2	890	43.3	114	2.6
Intermediate Technicians	542	6.9	258	12.5	92	2.1
Clerical employees	256	3.3	97	4.7	102	2.4
Semi-skilled service & commerce employees	907	11.6	211	10.3	350	8.1
Agriculture and fishery workers	93	1.2	38	1.8	48	1.1
Manufacturing and construction workers	2,126	27.1	131	6.4	1,786	41.4

Transport workers and tool operators	257	3.3	57	2.8	163	3.8
Non qualified workers	1,909	24.4	61	3.0	1,633	37.9
Total	7,835	100.0	2,056	100.0	4,314	100.0

Source: INE – 2000 Demographic Statistics.

The analysis of the data provided by the Portuguese Labour Inspection (Tables 36 and 37) allows us to conclude that there are indeed substantial differences between the various foreign communities in terms of their participation in the Portuguese labour market. 64.8% of the Brazilian workers work in the tertiary sector (12.1% of which in commerce, 22.1% in horeca and 28.6% in business and services – see Table 37), which is a much higher figure than those for all the other foreign communities. The fact that the occupations of the most recent Brazilian immigrants generally require much less skills than those performed by their fellow nationals who immigrated to Portugal in the 1980's has to do with the lower levels of schooling and training of this recent wave. Their traditional friendliness, their ease with the Portuguese language and their tolerance of low wages and long working hours (often at night) make them an attractive workforce for the commerce, accommodation and restaurant sector employers, who are often unable to find Portuguese workers that are willing to work in those conditions.

Table 36 - Work contracts celebrated with immigrants holding permanence permits, by activity sectors and countries of origin

Activity Sectors	Ukraine	Brazil	Moldova	Romania	Cape Verde	Angola	Russia
Agriculture and Fishery	2,727	416	485	508	99	68	235
Extractive Industry	788	47	51	38	10	3	31
Manufacturing Industry	12,319	2,028	1,276	746	280	302	1,540
Water, Gas and Electricity	24	6	5	4	2	3	6
Construction	21,001	6,613	5,195	4,504	2,880	2,176	1,770
Commerce	3,575	3,147	558	462	399	520	399
Restaurants and Hotels	3,047	5,731	578	559	611	908	526
Transports and Communications	747	528	231	103	41	39	74
Services	6,670	7,424	1,228	1,508	2,313	2,435	892
Total	50,898	25,940	9,607	8,432	6,635	6,454	5,473

Source: Portuguese Labour Inspection (IGT) Report (January 10th – December 31st, 2001)

Table 37 - Work contracts celebrated with immigrants holding permanence permits, by activity sectors and countries of origin (%).

CAE	Ukraine	Brazil	Moldova	Romania	Cape Verde	Angola	Russia
Agriculture and Fishery	5.4	1.6	5.0	6.0	1.5	1.1	4.3
Extractive Industry	1.5	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.6
Manufacturing Industry	24.2	7.8	13.3	8.8	4.2	4.7	28.1
Water, Gas and Electricity	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Construction	41.3	25.5	54.1	53.4	43.4	33.7	32.3
Commerce	7.0	12.1	5.8	5.5	6.0	8.1	7.3
Restaurants and Hotels	6.0	22.1	6.0	6.6	9.2	14.1	9.6
Transports and Communications	1.5	2.0	2.4	1.2	0.6	0.6	1.4
Services	13.1	28.6	12.8	17.9	34.9	37.7	16.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Portuguese Labour Inspection (IGT) Report (January 10th – December 31st, 2001)

As is the case with the recent wave of Brazilians, the level of schooling of most of the immigrants from Cape Verde and Angola is quite low. In the Portuguese labour market, they essentially perform low-skilled tasks in two specific activity sectors: construction (43.4% of the Capeverdeans and 33.7% of the Angolans), in the case of the men; and services (around 35% of the Capeverdeans and almost 38% of the Angolans), which very often consist of industrial or house cleaning services, in the case of the women. It is also worth mentioning that the work contracts in the commerce, restaurants and cafés sector account for 15.2% of the contracts involving Capeverdeans and 22.2% of those involving Angolans.

The professional structure of the Eastern European immigrants is more diversified and their levels of schooling and professional training are much higher than those of the Africans. Even though the construction sector remains the most significant of all – over 50% for the Romanians and Moldovans, around 40% for the Ukrainians and 32% for the Russians (see Table 37) –, the number of those working in sectors that until recently were almost exclusively dominated by the Portuguese labour force (e.g., agriculture and the manufacturing industry) has been increasing. In the case of agriculture, this has to do with the ageing of the population that has traditionally been employed in that sector and to the fact that the poor social image of this activity has pushed the younger people away from those jobs. In what regards the manufacturing

industries, and despite the poor economic conjuncture, it has to do with the fact that many industries, particularly those in which the factories work around the clock, have had to hire people to do the night shifts (Table 37).

The relatively lesser weight of the employment in the tertiary sector has to do with the problems faced by this foreign community in speaking the language. Most of those that do work in this sector are women.

To sum up, the labour market shortages that have not been met internally have mostly occurred in the low-skilled segments of construction, horeca, retail trade, cleaning, agriculture and, occasionally, labour-intensive industry. There clearly isn't as much need for skilled professionals, even though there is a shortage of nurses (which has mostly been met by Spanish professionals) and some evidence of shortages in the IT sector.

4.6. Unemployment

The current unemployment rates for most of the foreign national groups are quite low: actually close to, or even below, the national unemployment rate (which was 7.2% in 1995 and 4% in 2000). The relevant exceptions are the citizens of some of the PALOP countries (Angola, Guinea-Bissau and St. Tomé and Príncipe), whose unemployment rates are still over 8%, despite a positive evolution in 1999 (see Table 32). Some studies³³ have mentioned the problems in terms of labour market insertion faced by the members of these national groups, who have arrived in the country after the Capeverdeans and who often claim to have migrated for political reasons. This non-labour migration profile makes their integration in the labour market harder, a problem that is often worsened by the fact that their qualifications and skills seldom match the ones required for the jobs.

Table 38 - Registered unemployment of foreigners – 1998 and 1999

³³ Observatório do Emprego e Formação Profissional (OIEFP) (1998).

Year	1998			1999		
	Unem- ployed	Foreign workers	Unem- ploy. Rate	Unem- ployed	Foreign workers	Unem- ploy. Rate
Total Foreign Countries	4,962	88,605	5,6	4,445	91,600	4,9
Cape Verde	1,073	21,936	4.9	961	22,008	4.4
Angola	1,031	8,177	12.6	936	8,413	11.1
Guinea-Bissau	929	7,215	12.9	760	7,820	9.7
Brazil	369	9,570	3.9	372	9,899	3.7
Saint Tomé & Príncipe	265	1,900	14.0	230	1,960	11.7
France	239	3,469	6.9	224	3,808	5.9
Spain	216	5,491	3.9	223	6,067	3.7
Germany	181	4,768	3.8	152	5,009	3.0
Mozambique	149	1,900	7.8	126	1,879	6.7
Other	510	24,179	2.1	461	24,737	1.9

Source: IEFP (Institute of Employment and Professional Training) and INE - Demographic Statistics.

It is also important to mention that there is a technical reason that may contribute to the high unemployment rates among the foreigners: the fact that the migrants in an irregular situation are not taken into account in the surveys. However, one must point out that the recessive trend of the Portuguese economy observed since 2000 is visible in the increasing unemployment rate in Portugal, affecting in particular the foreign citizens. This evolution is confirmed by the growth in the number of unemployed immigrant workers between 2001 and 2002 enrolled in the employment centres of Portugal's mainland (ACIME, 2002, p. 4). According to this source, quoting a reported published by the Employment and Training Institute, the communities coming from the lusophone countries are the most affected by this problem.

With regard to the gender characteristics of unemployment among the foreigners, the data indicates that the women are clearly worse off in the Portuguese labour market: out of the 4,445 foreigners that were registered as unemployed in December 1999, more than 50% were women. The share of the women among the unemployed reached 53.3% for the PALOP nationals, 60.7% for the EU citizens and 66% for the Brazilians. This situation, which is in

accordance with the general pattern of the country³⁴, is particularly impressive due to the vast majority of the foreigners being males³⁵.

Despite the lack of research regarding the vulnerability of the foreign women in the Portuguese labour market, certain factors, such as the discrimination on the part of the employers in the event of pregnancy, the lesser access of the women to the informal labour market and their higher level of registration in the Employment Centres – possibly as part of “safety net” family strategies –, certainly contribute to it being so.

4.7. A few notes on the situation in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

As we have mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, it is quite hard to obtain regionally disaggregated data with regard to this particular issue. However, a report by the Ministry of Labour entitled *Workmanship Needs of the Portuguese Labour Market (diagnosis and short-term perspective)* does include a survey of the presence of non-EU workers in Portuguese companies³⁶, based on interviews conducted in a sample of firms. Fortunately, some of the information provided in this document is disaggregated by regions and activity sectors.

In the activity sectors that were included in the survey, there were 850,800 workers, 43,300 (5.1%) of which were non-EU citizens. The Portuguese region in which there was the largest number of foreign workers was the Lisbon and Tejo Valley region: approximately 25,400 non-EU workers, i.e., 58.6% of the total number of non-EU workers in Portugal. In second place came the Northern region – 6,247 non-EU workers (14.4%); see Table 39 – followed by the Algarve with 5,897 (13.6%). However, if we look at the relative share of the foreigners in the total working population, it is the Algarve region

³⁴ Women accounted for 57% of the total average number of unemployed workers in Portugal.

³⁵ In 2000, approximately 43% of the total number of foreign citizens were women. If we just take into consideration the foreign workers that entered the country in the year 2000, women accounted for 37.3% of the total, 37.4% of the PALOP citizens, 42.8% of the EU nationals and 44.5% of the Brazilians.

³⁶ This survey included 15,000 companies throughout the country with more than 20 employees. These companies were selected according to their activity sectors.

that takes first place (11.6%), whereas the Lisbon region is relegated to second place (6.7%) (see Table 40).

Table 39 - Total number of foreign employees in the various activity sectors (Portuguese regions, 2001)

Sectors	Regions					
	North	Centre	Lisbon and Tejo Valley	Alentejo	Algarve	Total
Agriculture	62	373	714	554	287	1,990
Fishing	9	26	6		3	44
Construction	3,491	3,372	12,074	552	3,102	22,591
Retail Trade	378	93	2,147	8	294	2,920
Hotels and restaurants	1,930	645	4,557	51	2,108	9,291
Security & similar activities	1	0	117			118
Industrial cleaning	276	67	5,331	9	79	5,762
Other service activities	100	5	414	0	24	543
Total	6,247	4,581	25,360	1,174	5,897	43,259
%	14.4	10.6	58.6	2.7	13.6	100.0

Source: Foreign Labour Recruitment Survey, DETEFP, Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

Table 40 - Share of non-EU employees in the various activity sectors in each region (2001)

Sectors	Regions					
	North	Centre	Lisbon and Tejo Valley	Alentejo	Algarve	Total
Agriculture	0.9	4.0	4.8	3.8	11.4	4.1
Fishing	1.5	1.6	0.7		0.5	1.2
Construction	2.9	6.8	10.9	5.2	24.6	7.4
Retail Trade	0.5	0.3	1.9	0.1	2.8	1.2
Hotels and restaurants	4.5	2.5	5.5	0.7	9.1	5.1
Security & similar activities	0.3	0.0	0.9			0.9
Industrial cleaning	6.1	3.8	16.9	2.9	15.0	14.9
Other service activities	1.4	0.2	3.9	0.0	2.6	2.5
Total	2.4	3.8	6.7	2.8	11.6	5.1

Source: Foreign Labour Recruitment Survey, DETEFP, Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

This type of analysis also confirms that, in every region, the foreign labour force is primarily recruited to perform low-skilled tasks with little social value. This is one of the reasons why the Portuguese workers do not want to

perform them themselves. While in the well-diversified Lisbon and Tejo Valley region the social valorisation of work is quite important and has a lot of influence over the choice of a job, in the other Portuguese regions the distribution of the workers by the various activity sectors is deeply constrained by the economic structure of the region. Therefore, in the Lisbon region, there is a high percentage of foreign workers in the construction (47.6%) and industrial cleaning (21%) sectors. In the Alentejo – a region in which the economic activity is deeply centred around agriculture, but where there have been some large investments in public works such as the Alqueva dam –, the foreign labour force is mostly attracted to the farming (47.2%) and construction sectors (47%). In the Algarve, construction and tourism are the two most important sectors: in this region, 52.6% of the foreign workers work in the construction sector and 35.7% in the horeca sector (Table 41).

Table 41 – Sectorial distribution of the non-EU employees in the various Portuguese regions, 2001 (%)

Sectors	Regions					
	North	Centre	Lisbon and Tejo Valley	Alentejo	Algarve	Total
Agriculture	1.0	8.1	2.8	47.2	4.9	4.6
Fishing	0.1	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Construction	55.9	73.6	47.6	47.0	52.6	52.2
Retailing	6.1	2.0	8.5	0.7	5.0	6.8
Hotels and restaurants	30.9	14.1	18.0	4.3	35.7	21.5
Security & similar activities	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3
Industrial cleaning	4.4	1.5	21.0	0.8	1.3	13.3
Other service activities	1.6	0.1	1.6	0.0	0.4	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Foreign Labour Recruitment Survey, DETEFP, Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

5. Housing

The housing issue is a chronic problem of the Portuguese society, due not only to the persistent lack of dwellings, but also to the high rents that are

charged in the house rental market. The growing demand for housing has been a consequence of the rapid expansion of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in the 50's, 60's and 70's, which was brought about by internal migrations as well as by the arrival in the country of many expatriates and African citizens from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa after 1974.

If we look at the 1991 Census data regarding the characteristics of the dwellings of the population of the Lisbon/Setúbal region, we notice that there is clearly an over-representation of the PALOP nationals among the population that lived in shacks (see Table 42). For instance, 27.1% of the Guineans, 24.3% of the Cape Verdeans and 23.2% of the Santomese lived in this type of dwellings. These figures are much higher than those of other foreign communities (Brazilians: 0.4%; EU: 0.6%) or of the total population (1.3%), which is a clear indication of the economic difficulties and precarious living conditions of a significant part of the PALOP citizens that live in the Lisbon/Setúbal region.

Table 42 - Foreign residents in the Lisbon and Setúbal districts according to the type of dwelling, 1991 (selected nationalities)

Type of dwelling Nationality	Number				%			
	Classic dwellings	Shacks	Other	Total	Classic dwellings	Shacks	Other	Total
Cape Verde	9974	3438	721	14133	70.6	24.3	5.1	100.0
Angola	4454	496	218	5168	86.2	9.6	4.2	100.0
Mozambique	2021	67	79	2169	93.2	3.1	3.6	100.0
Saint Tomé & Prince	1294	415	79	1788	72.4	23.2	4.4	100.0
Guinea Bissau	1910	750	103	2763	69.1	27.1	3.7	100.0
Brazil	4398	16	53	4467	98.5	0.4	1.2	100.0
Europe	10706	62	379	11147	96.0	0.6	3.4	100.0
Total population	3215708	43416	37044	3296168	97.6	1.3	1.1	100.0

Source: Baganha, Marques, Fonseca, 2000.

This precariousness is also visible in the amenities (water, electricity, toilet) of the dwellings themselves. Again, the Capeverdean, Santomese and Guinean citizens are much more limited in their access to these amenities than the European, the Brazilians or, in fact, the population as a whole (Table 43). As a mere example, 5.7% of the Santomese and 3.8% of the Guineans that reside in the Lisbon/Setúbal region live in dwellings that do not possess amenities as basic as such as electricity, tap water or a toilet. What is more, if we turn to the

percentage of dwellings in which the access to these amenities can be considered “incomplete”, the figures are even more impressive: more than ¼ of the Cape Verdeans (27.1%), 22.3% of the Santomese and 14.9% of the Guineans do not have full access to these amenities.

Table 43 - Foreign residents in the Lisbon and Setúbal districts according to the degree of access to basic amenities in their dwellings (sink, toilet, tap water, bath/shower and electricity), 1991 (selected nationalities)

Degree of Access Nationality	Number				%			
	Total population	Complete amenities	Incomplete amenities	Without amenities	Total population	Complete amenities	Incomplete amenities	Without amenities
Cape Verde	9,974	7,021	2,705	248	100.0	70.4	27.1	2.5
Angola	4,454	3,982	410	62	100.0	89.4	9.2	1.4
Mozambique	2,021	1,880	134	7	100.0	93.0	6.6	0.3
Saint Tomé & Prince	1,294	932	288	74	100.0	72.0	22.3	5.7
Guinea Bissau	1,910	1,554	284	72	100.0	81.4	14.9	3.8
Brazil	4,398	4,300	97	1	100.0	97.8	2.2	0.0
Europe	10,706	10,316	350	40	100.0	96.4	3.3	0.4
Total population	3,272,868	2,956,463	297,151	19,254	100.0	90.3	9.1	0.6

Source: Baganha, Marques, Fonseca, 2000.

Due to the significant number of people who lived under very poor housing conditions, the Government decided in 1993 to launch a special programme, whose main goal was to eradicate all the shanties/shacks from the two Portuguese metropolitan areas (Lisbon and Oporto) and thus improve the living standards of a significant part of the population (see section II).

It must be stressed that the immigrants in a legal situation are as entitled to benefit from these re-housing programmes as the Portuguese citizens. Hence, this re-housing programme has helped to reduce the levels of residential segregation of the poor ethnic minorities, because in the social housing neighbourhoods we find both autochthonous people and immigrants from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (Fonseca, 2002a).

In order to find out the number of dwellings that were needed to accommodate the families living in shacks, a thorough survey of all the shanties in both metropolitan areas was conducted in each municipality. The survey collected two kinds of information: data on the type of materials that were used to build the dwellings (timber, tin, brick), and information on the families and

individuals that lived there (age, gender, nationality, income, professional occupation).

In the 18³⁷ municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the survey reached 113,701 individuals from 33,640 families, living in 29,223 dwellings. This was equivalent to 2.7% of the total number of dwellings of the Metropolitan Area and 4.5% of its inhabitants. Despite its considerable relevance in all the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the issue of shanty housing was not equally serious in all the municipalities (Table 44):

Table 44 – Dwellings surveyed by the PER (1993) and total number of dwellings in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (1991)

Municipality	Dwellings surveyed by the PER	%	Total number of dwellings	%
Amadora	4,645	15.9	69,898	6.5
Azambuja	75	0.3	9,896	0.9
Cascais	824	2.8	71,940	6.6
Lisbon	10,034	34.3	278,033	25.6
Loures	3,979	13.6	125,066	11.5
Mafra	62	0.2	22,370	2.1
Oeiras	3,145	10.8	64,603	6.0
Sintra	1,310	4.5	113,921	10.5
V. F. Xira	712	2.4	41,801	3.9
Alcochete	40	0.1	4,471	0.4
Almada	1,924	6.6	73,755	6.8
Barreiro	420	1.4	34,165	3.1
Moita	125	0.4	26,383	2.4
Montijo	286	1.0	16,209	1.5
Palmela	96	0.3	19,441	1.8
Seixal	458	1.6	50,317	4.6
Sesimbra	124	0.4	18,073	1.7
Setúbal	964	3.3	43,027	4.0
Total	29,223	100.0	1,083,369	100.0

Sources: LMA Metropolitan Board, 1997; 1991 Census, INE.

³⁷ In 1993, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area included 18 municipalities. However, a new municipality (Odivelas) was created in 1998, in what was formerly a part of the territory of the Loures municipality. As a consequence, the LMA is currently made up of 19 municipalities.

The Lisbon, Amadora, Loures and Oeiras municipalities were the ones in which there was the highest relative number of shacks. Precarious housing posed therefore particular problems for these municipalities.

Even though there is no detailed data with regard to the ethnic composition of this population, its composition in terms of nationalities allows us to see that the immigrants from the PALOP countries were largely over-represented in the population that needed to be re-housed (Table 44). In 1991, their relative weight in this particular population was seven times as high as their share in the total population of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (2.8% and 20.2%, respectively). It is important to stress that this figure would be even higher if the Portuguese citizens of African origin were also taken into account, particularly the children of immigrants who were born in Portugal (Fonseca, 2002a).

More than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the individuals that lived in the dwellings included in the survey were Portuguese (79.3%). The main foreign group consisted of the Capeverdeans (12.0%) – the largest and longest-standing foreign community in the country –, followed at a great distance by the Guineans (2.9%), the Angolans (2.6%) and the Santomese (2.4%). The weight of both the EU nationals and the Brazilians was merely residual (Table 45).

Table 45 - Nationality of the individuals interviewed in the PER survey, 1993 (%)

Nationality Municipality	Portuguese	EU	Brazilian	Angolan	Mozambican	Capeverdean	Guinean	Santomese	Other	Total
Amadora	70.2	0.2	0.1	2.1	0.1	22.1	3.0	2.0	0.4	100.0
Azambuja	99.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Cascais	59.8	0.3	0.1	3.8	0.2	16.4	15.9	1.4	2.2	100.0
Lisboa	94.1	0.1	0.1	1.3	0.3	2.9	0.2	1.0	0.1	100.0
Loures	66.7	0.1	0.1	4.6	0.4	13.7	8.0	6.0	0.4	100.0
Mafra	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Oeiras	75.6	0.2	0.0	1.5	0.6	19.6	1.6	0.8	0.0	100.0
Sintra	77.3	0.2	0.1	2.1	0.1	15.2	3.0	1.9	0.2	100.0
V. F. Xira	78.3	0.0	0.5	1.2	0.0	7.7	11.6	0.5	0.1	100.0
Alcochete	97.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Almada	67.8	0.1	0.1	8.4	0.4	15.1	2.2	5.3	0.5	100.0
Barreiro	89.5	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	6.4	0.4	1.3	0.4	100.0
Moita	73.2	0.2	0.0	6.2	0.4	10.3	2.4	7.1	0.2	100.0
Montijo	98.4	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	100.0
Palmela	98.9	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

Seixal	56.7	0.3	0.0	4.5	0.6	21.2	2.0	14.4	0.3	100.0
Sesimbra	92.2	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.6	2.2	1.3	0.2	0.7	100.0
Setúbal	89.8	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.4	6.4	0.6	0.2	0.1	100.0
Total	79.3	0.1	0.1	2.6	0.3	12.0	2.9	2.4	0.3	100.0

Source: LMA Metropolitan Board, 1997 (calculations by the authors).

This over-representation of the immigrants and ethnic minorities in the areas where the urban problems are most acute frequently indicates a relationship between the residential segregation of the least favoured groups and the ethnic segregation mechanisms. However, as Malheiros (1998 and 2000) shows in his research, the levels of residential segregation of the immigrants and ethnic minorities in Lisbon – and, generally speaking, in the major Southern European cities – are lower than is the case in the Northern European metropolises and especially in the American cities. Moreover, there is also a greater degree of suburbanisation of the residential areas of the ethnic minorities, as opposed to a tendency towards the concentration in the city centres in the Northern European cities.

In the case of Lisbon, the levels of residential socio-ethnic segregation are quite low in comparison and it is possible to find many neighbourhoods in which the autochthonous population, on the one hand, and immigrants and ethnic minorities from a variety of geographical backgrounds, on the other, live side by side. However, social marginalisation is often associated with ethnic marginalisation. The urban and social degradation of many of the neighbourhoods in the outskirts of Lisbon is often associated with the presence of immigrants, which reflects negatively upon the social views and prejudices regarding these people – particularly black people. As an example of this, we could mention several public demonstrations carried out by the residents of neighbourhoods close to the areas where the PER re-housing was supposed to take place, protesting against the location of the social housing neighbourhoods (Fonseca, 2002a).

6. Social services and benefits: a statistical analysis

As far as the social rights of the immigrants are concerned, the Portuguese legal system should be considered extremely positive. Articles 13 and 15 of the Portuguese Constitution recognise the principle of equality between the Portuguese nationals and the foreign legal residents. With the exception of political rights, all the other citizenship rights – whether civil, social or economic – are granted to foreigners. Moreover, Section II of Law n. 134/99 (of August 28th) explicitly forbids any discrimination based on race, nationality or ethnicity.

In what regards social benefits, the immigrants that have legally settled in Portugal are entitled to:

- social security benefits (unemployment benefits, retirement pension);
- the Guaranteed Minimum Income (Law n. 19-A/96);
- the National Health Service (NHS);
- the access on the part of the immigrant families that live in shanty towns in the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas to special housing programmes (PER – Programa Especial de Realojamento / Special Re-housing Programme and PER Families - see sections 2.1.2, 2.2 and 3.3);
- the safeguarding of the fatherhood, motherhood and childhood rights by both the civil society and the state, as well as the special protection of the youth, the handicapped and the senior citizens;
- the right to education and culture as means of ensuring the equality of opportunities;
- the right to culture, physical education and sport on the same grounds as the Portuguese citizens.

Even though the Portuguese authorities – particularly the ACIME, along with the immigrants' associations, the NGOs and the trade unions – have developed strategies that specifically seek to ensure better social conditions for the immigrants, new injustices do come about every day. The most vulnerable groups are those that are living in Portugal without residence or permanence permits, as well as those that work in the black market.

Among the variety of problems faced by the immigrants, we would particularly like to stress labour market exploitation (that especially affects the immigrants that have not yet obtained their legal authorisations and often find themselves in working situations that are characterised by delays in the payment of the salaries, the lack of adequate insurance and the lack of work contracts) and the errors on the part of the private and public institutions³⁸ in the interpretation of the rights that are granted by law. This latter issue is directly related with the evidence of institutional discrimination, despite all the efforts put forth by the national and local authorities.

We shall now seek to further clarify some of the aforementioned social issues, by drawing on data on the access of the immigrants to the social services.

6.1. Education

In 1991, the Portuguese Government created the Secretariat for Multicultural Education Programs – *Entreculturas*, under the direct authority of the Minister of Education, with the aim of promoting and coordinating actions and programmes within the educational system that are aimed at fostering tolerance and the respect for different people and ethnic groups.

This Secretariat has five main areas of intervention: knowledge and diagnosis of the multicultural characteristics of the Portuguese schools; research and intervention in schools that are considered multicultural; elaboration of specific teaching manuals and books; training and education with an inter-cultural approach; and inter-cultural relations and citizenship. All the projects that have been implemented have involved partnerships with the schools, immigrants' associations or NGOs and the municipal authorities (Baganha *et al*, 2000).

In 1998, foreign students accounted for around 5% of the total number of students that were enrolled in Portuguese schools (at the compulsory primary

³⁸ For instance, doubts have been raised regarding the free access to the National Health Service (NHS) of the Eastern European citizens that are legally residing in Portugal, due to them being non-EU nationals. However, Official Communiqué n. 25 – 360/2001 (2nd series) has cast light on the problem, making it clear that the immigrants that have registered in the Social Security system are also entitled to the NHS.

and secondary levels). As might be expected – considering the geographical distribution of the foreign population in the Portuguese territory –, foreign students were mostly concentrated in the Lisbon and Setúbal districts. In 1997, they accounted for 10.5% of the school population in this region.

Among the foreign students, those from the PALOP countries were the most numerous (61%), particularly the ones from Angola and Cape Verde. Other relevant student nationalities included the EU countries and Brazil (see Table 46). If we compare the relative weight of the various foreign groups in the student population at the compulsory level with that at the secondary education level, we find that it is the students from the Portuguese-Speaking African Countries that experience the most significant decrease (from 64% to 48.7%). This is a clear indication of the high incidence of school drop-outs among the African students – particularly the Capeverdeans and, to a lesser extent, the Santomese and Guineans –, as soon as they finish their compulsory education.

Table 47 - Foreign students by nationality and level of schooling, 1998

Countries	Compulsory School 1 to 9 years		Secondary School 10 to 12 years		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Angola	11,460	24.04	2,705	22.75	14,165	23.78
Cape Verde	11,552	24.23	993	8.35	12,545	21.06
Guinea-Bissau	2,659	5.58	407	3.42	3,066	5.15
Mozambique	3,059	6.42	1,365	11.48	4,424	7.43
S. Tomé and Príncipe	1,850	3.88	316	2.66	2,166	3.64
Total PALOP	30,580	64.14	5,786	48.65	36,366	61.05
Brazil	2,536	5.32	1,048	8.81	3,584	6.02
European Union	7,113	14.92	2,929	24.63	10,042	16.86
Other Countries	7,442	15.61	2,128	17.90	9,570	16.07
Total foreign students	47,671	100.00	11,891	100.00	59,562	100.00

Source: Secretariat for Multicultural Education (Entreculturas).

In what regards the rates of success for each level of schooling, we see that most of the national groups of foreign students were less successful than the national average (83.4%). Among the main nationalities, the Brazilians

(whose success rate of 89.8% was above the average 87.6%) were the only exception and only at the compulsory level of schooling. At the secondary level, the students from Saint Tomé and Príncipe and from the EU countries were the most successful among the foreign student population (see Table 47).

Table 47 - Success rates by nationality and level of schooling, 1997

Countries	Compulsory School 1 to 9 years	Secondary School 10 to 12 years	Total
Angola	84.8	55.1	81.1
Cape Verde	76.7	62.0	76.3
Guinea-Bissau	83.2	52.1	80.5
Mozambique	86.5	65.4	82.1
S. Tomé and Príncipe	81.6	68.8	80.8
Brazil	89.8	61.5	84.4
European Union	86.5	66.3	82.3
Total foreign students	87.6	65.8	83.4

Source: Secretariat for Multicultural Education (Entreculturas).

6.2. Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI)

The Guaranteed Minimum Income is a government instrument designed to fight poverty and social exclusion. Apart from the financial support itself, this policy instrument includes social initiatives in areas such as social care for the elderly and the children, health (namely, vaccination campaigns and programs for people with addiction problems), education (both for children and adults), employment, opportunities for professional training and housing support initiatives designed to improve the living conditions of the population. The people who benefit from the GMI must adhere to its social integration component, or they can be excluded from the programme.

Between January 1997 (when the GMI Programme was created) and June 1999, the Social Security received 304,022 applications, 54% of which were approved, 31% rejected and 15% were still under consideration. In the three years between 1998 and 2000, the region in which the most applications

were approved was the Northern region (36%), but if we look at the number of approved applications relative to the total population, the highest incidence of approved applications can be found in the Autonomous Region of the Azores (4.5%), followed by the Centre region (2.5%). It is worth pointing out that in the two regions – the Northern region and the Lisbon and Tejo Valley region –, in which the two main Portuguese cities – Lisbon and Oporto, respectively – are situated, the relative number of people who benefit from the Guaranteed Minimum Income programme is quite low in comparison. This is a consequence of the development stage of the various regions of the country. (see Table 48).

Table 48 - Approved applications for the Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme, by region

Regions	Approved applications					Resident Population	Rate**
	1998	1999	2000	1998/2000	%	2001	
North	32,908	23,739	13,747	70,394	36.1	3,680,379	1.9
Centre	21,603	15,093	8,632	45,328	23.3	1,779,672	2.5
Lisbon & Tejo Valley	23,056	15,389	10,683	49,128	25.2	3,447,173	1.4
Alentejo	5,320	3,117	2,466	10,903	5.6	534,365	2.0
Algarve	4,380	2,122	1,674	8,176	4.2	391,819	2.1
Azores	6,243	3,329	1,274	10,846	5.6	242,073	4.5
Madeira*							
Total	93,510	62,789	38,476	194,775	100.0	10,075,481	1.9

Source: Social Development Institute, Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

* The figures for the Autonomous Region of Madeira are not available.

** These rates may be slightly underestimated, because the figures of the resident population are those from the 2001 Census, whereas the available data for the applications only goes as far as the previous year.

The only available information with regard to the foreign beneficiaries of the Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme concerns the African citizens, who account for 6.4% of all the beneficiaries. According to Table 49, the relative number of PALOP citizens who benefit from the Programme (64.3%) is quite higher than that for the total population (43.0%).

Table 49 - Guaranteed Minimum Income beneficiaries (June 1999)

Countries	Number of beneficiaries	Beneficiaries (%)	Resident population	Beneficiaries/ 1,000 residents
Angola	1,980	0.49	17,695	111.9
Cape Verde	1,804	0.44	43,797	41.2
Guinea-Bissau	691	0.17	14,140	48.9
Mozambique	372	0.09	4,503	82.6
Saint Tomé and Príncipe	616	0.15	4,795	128.5
Total PALOP	5,463	1.35	84,930	64.3
Total Population (1997/1999)	405,777	100.0	9,436,674	43.0

Source: Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

Note: The rates were calculated based on the figures for the foreign population living in Portugal in 1999.

The communities that seem to experience the greatest problems in terms of income and social exclusion are the Santomese (128.5 beneficiaries/1,000 residents) and the Angolans (111.9 beneficiaries/1,000 residents), followed at a distance by the Mozambicans. The relative number of Capeverdean immigrants that benefit from the GMI Programme is similar to that of the Portuguese nationals.

6.3. Political participation

The current process of economic globalisation and the increase and diversification of the international migrations shake the bases of the nation-state and bring forth new challenges in terms of defining citizenship. An increasing number of people choose to live outside their home country and are often deprived of the right to political participation in the places where they do live. The lack of coincidence between the nation-state of which one is formally a citizen and that in which one actually lives is a crucial aspect of the current debates regarding the citizenship rights of the migrants and, in particular, the relationship between nationality and citizenship rights (Malheiros, 2001).

The recognition of the foreigners' right to vote – one of the most important political rights for the migrant populations – is one of the issues that is

currently under discussion in several European countries. In Portugal, Law n. 50 of November 3rd, 1996, brought about the changes to the previous law that were necessary for EU citizens and other foreign residents to be allowed to participate in the local elections in Portugal. At the present stage, the foreign non-EU nationalities that are entitled to register in the Portuguese electoral census are the Brazilians, the Capeverdeans, the Argentineans, the Chileans, the Estonians, the Israelis, the Norwegians, the Peruvians, the Uruguayans and the Venezuelans. Moreover, the citizens of other EU countries that are living in Portugal are allowed to vote in the elections for the European Parliament (provided they forego their right to vote in their country of origin). The rates of registration in the electoral census are relatively small for all the groups: between 10 and 12.5% (see Table 50). In the case of the EU nationals, the Dutch are those that have the highest level of participation (a registration rate of 14%). However, the one foreign group that is particularly worthy of mention is that of the Capeverdeans, whose registration rate is close to 50%. This may be due to this national group having been specifically targeted in several registration campaigns, as well as to the fact that they are the longest-standing immigrant group in the Portuguese society (and have therefore reached a high level of integration, despite maintaining close ties with their islands of origin).

Naturally, the registration rates are only a hint as to what is the actual level of political participation of the foreign population in Portugal. The assessment of the actual voting turnouts is, of course, another essential part of this analysis and, in fact, in the 1997 local elections – the first in which the foreigners were able to take part – the turnout was indeed very low.

Table 50 - Number of foreigners registered in the electoral census (May 2001)

Countries	Registered	Registration rate (%)*
Germany	991	11.9
France	578	10.1
Italy	298	12.3
Netherlands	455	14.0
Spain	1,216	12.5
United Kingdom	1,194	10.6
Other EU countries	533	12.4
Total EU	5,265	11.6
Cape Verde	14,309	49.0
Brazil	1,483	10.2
Other Non EU Countries	94	10.2
Total Non EU Countries	15,886	35.8
Total	21,151	23.5

Source: STAPE, 2001 Electoral Census

* - These rates are based on estimates of the population over 18 years of age.

IV CONCLUDING REMARKS: SYNTHESIS AND PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

1. Basic features and results

Economic turbulence in the 1970s together with social and political changes resulting from the 25th April Revolution and declining emigration to North-western Europe, coincided with the development of return movements to Portugal of European emigrants and of the “retornados” from the former African colonies after independence.

The return of “retornados” to Portugal, in an international context favourable to immigration towards Southern Europe had a very important role in the growing volume of economic migrants coming from PALOP countries because African “refugees” facilitated the development of inter-personal networks supporting the arrival and settling down of new immigrants. Immigration for economic reasons, was intensified after mid-80s and is growing steadily (Fonseca, 2002b):

- During the 90's Portugal has received a growing number of foreign citizens:
1990: 107 767
1995: 168 316
2001: 223 602 (does not include permanence permits)
- The main sending regions of the world are Africa (mainly the Portuguese-Speaking Countries - PALOP), Europe (mostly the EU countries) and America (special relevance for another Portuguese-speaking country, Brazil).
- The Lisbon region (Lisbon and Setúbal districts) concentrates a significant share of foreign citizens residing in Portugal (always more than 60%) and the number of foreigners is growing steadily

- New migratory flows - the Eastern Europeans: between 10th January and 31st October 2002 the Foreigners and Borders Office gave 169,953 permanence permits with the following distribution:
 - Europe: 55.9% (63.5% are Ukrainians)
 - America: 20.5% (96.9% are Brazilians)
 - Africa: 16.0% (80.0% are PALOP citizens)
- The Eastern European citizens show a more dispersed pattern of geographic settlement. They can be found in several regions of the country, working in agriculture, manufacturing, civil constructions, domestic services, and not just concentrated in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.
- Although traditionally polarised between highly qualified occupations (managers, directors, professionals) and unskilled or low skilled jobs (especially in construction and industrial and domestic cleaning), the structure of participation of foreigners in the Portuguese labour market seems to have experienced some change in recent years, with an increase in the proportion of the second group.
- The recent wave of Eastern European immigrants is composed of a much more skilled population when compared to the people coming from PALOP countries. Despite having an over-representation of individuals with intermediate schooling and higher education levels, the majority of Eastern European workers, similarly to the Africans, work in low skilled and often in the informal sector.
- The majority of the foreign national groups present low levels of unemployment, around or even below the national unemployment rate.
- The employment structure of immigrants in LMA follows the national pattern. However, there is an over-representation in the service sector, namely in activities like industrial and domestic cleaning, retail and security.

- In terms of housing conditions, in 1991 a significant share of PALOP nationals, the major group of foreign citizens residing in the Lisbon region, lived under very precarious conditions. More than 27% of the Guineans, 24% of the Cape Verdeans and 23% of the Saint Tomese lived in shacks often lacking basic amenities like toilet, shower or electricity.
- Due to the seriousness of the housing problem, especially the proportion of national and foreign born citizens living in shacks, the Government launched the Special Rehousing Programme (PER) in 1993 with the main goal of eradicating the shanties in the two Portuguese metropolitan Areas – Lisbon and Oporto. As a result of that effort, between 1991 and 2001, there was a 44.2% reduction in the population living in shacks in LMA.
- As research developed by Malheiros (1998 and 2000) shows, the levels of residential segregation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Lisbon is lower than those observed in the Northern European metropolises, and mainly in American cities. Moreover, a greater suburbanisation of residential areas of ethnic minorities in opposition to concentration in city centres like in Northern European cities, is also observed.
- In order to fight down poverty and social exclusion, the Government launched in 1997 the Minimum Guaranteed Income that includes a complete and integrated project of social recovery that included training, school attendance, health support, etc. Both nationals and documented foreign citizens were able to apply for the subsidy but the vast majority of beneficiaries were Portuguese. PALOP citizens represented only 1.3% of the beneficiaries and among them the Angolans were the most numerous (36.2% of the PALOP beneficiaries).
- In order to promote an intercultural education, allowing students to develop attitudes of better adaptation to the cultural diversity of the Portuguese society, the Government created in 1991 the Secretariat for Multicultural Education Programmes – *Entreculturas* – depending directly from the

Ministry of Education. In 1997 foreign students represented 10.5% of the school population in the districts of Lisbon and Setúbal and Angolans and Capeverdeans were predominant.

- Foreign citizens can vote for Portuguese local elections based on the principle of reciprocity and after two years (PALOP citizens) or three years of legal residence (non-EU citizens). Capeverdean nationals had the highest registration rate among all nationalities.

2. Policy principles and practices

2.1. The national policy framework

Concerning the incorporation regime of foreigners in Portugal, the developments of the second half of the 90's show that the puzzle of insertion policies is becoming more fair and complete. In several fields (labour, education, housing, minimum income, health, political rights at local level), new laws were published or old ones revised in order to remove inequality between nationals and non-nationals. Although this process is still recent, the results seem to be globally positive, despite the existence of some xenophobic symptoms³⁹ in the society and even some institutional discrimination. In addition, it is also clear a double effort, both in attributing an active role to immigrants associations in the definition and application of specific policies and in building society partnerships to develop the several insertion issues. Eventually, there is some functions overlapping, some excessive bureaucratisation of procedures and, in certain cases, the effectiveness of the results is still hard to evaluate.

Table 51 summarises the features of the policies developed in the different fields that directly or indirectly fall upon immigrants and ethnic minorities. As far as social policy is concerned, the basic principle has been to

³⁹ As mentioned by Baganha, Marques and Fonseca (2000), *op. cit.*, p.57, despite some racist incidents, eventually involving skinhead groups, "... in Portugal, not only is racism not an assumed attitude, but also militant racism is extremely rare." Actually, "public opinion and public authorities have firmly and widely condemned all racist incidents occurred in the last decade." In addition, apart some minor extreme right groups, there are no important political parties with assumed racist discourses.

incorporate the immigrants and the members of ethnic minorities within the global frameworks of national policies. Positive discrimination is not forbidden in the Law n. 134/99, but the initiatives aiming directly the immigrants try to solve specific problems (school failure, difficulties in dealing with the administration or in the access to new technologies) or to provide immigrants and members of ethnic minorities with skills identical to the other members of Portuguese society.

Besides, as it showed by the data and the analysis presented in this study, several immigrant groups are over-represented in disadvantageous situations in terms of poverty, school success, housing conditions, insertion in the black economy and even access to justice⁴⁰. Therefore, the construction of an inclusive and fair society implies “that everybody is entitled to benefit from the social policies designed to eradicate poverty and build social citizenship for all” (public speech of the ACIME made in 1997 cited in Baganha, Marques e Fonseca, 2000, p. 57).

⁴⁰ For instance, there is an over-representation of foreigners in Portuguese prisons and this trend does not show reversal signs. On the subject, see Baganha, Marques and Fonseca (2000) *op. cit.* and Esteves and Malheiros (2001).

Table 51 - Domains of insertion policy: practices, partnerships and preliminary assessment

	Identification of specific measures directed to immigrants/foreigners	Identification of partnerships (partners)	Geographical level of intervention	Preliminary assessment
Education	YES. Entreculturas Project; Intercultural mediators working in schools.	YES - Ministry of Education, schools, municipalities and NGOs.	National - conducted at local level, particularly in LMA.	Positive
Health	Basically NO. There is only a specific initiative for Asylum seekers and some health information campaigns and check ups in immigrants' neighbourhoods.	NO - Some local associations (e.g. ASPAS) have developed initiatives in some immigrants' neighbourhoods.	National and LMA municipalities (e.g. Amadora).	???
Social assistance	YES. Training programmes aiming specifically certain ethnic minorities or immigrants.	YES. Ministry of Internal Affairs (Civil Governor of Lisbon - financial contribution), Social Security, Portuguese Council for Refugees, NGOs and municipalities. EU funds support <i>Integrar</i> Programme.	Mainly local	???
Culture	YES. Ethnic festivals, support to cultural associations - music and dance with African or Afro-american influences.	YES. Municipalities, Immigrants' associations and ACIME.	Local.	Positive
Information society	YES. Digital Cities Programme, Project <i>Pelas Minorias</i> .	ACIME, IEFP, municipalities of Amadora, Oeiras and Setúbal, Ministry of Science and Technology.	Local - world wide diffusion due to the use of technology.	Positive.
Political participation	NO. The extension of voting rights in local elections follows the principles applied for Portuguese citizens.	NO - Immigrants associations, NGOs, some political parties and municipal authorities have campaigned for the registration of foreigners in the electoral census.	Local	Positive (in principle). Still very limited.
Housing	NO.	YES (general housing policy). Contracts between the municipalities and the Central government (financial contribution). Limited participation of some NGOs.	Regional (2 metropolitan areas). Conducted locally (municipalities).	Positive in terms of improving housing conditions. Less effective in terms of contributing to the reduction of social problems of the neighbourhoods.
Employment	YES (but limited). Agreement between ACIME and IEFP. Training of Cultural mediators (Programme Education-employment). Training programmes developed by some immigrants associations.	YES. ACIME, IEFP, Immigrants associations and exceptionally municipalities.	Regional.	Positive.

Notes: In bold - Main agents.

2.2 - Local policies

The way municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area establish the contacts with the immigrated communities and develop their policy towards immigrants and ethnic minorities can be classified in the following main types:

A - Assumption of immigrants as formal policy partners in the systematic development of policies

A1 - Institutionalised by Consultative bodies: Lisbon (since 1993) and Amadora (1994). In the last municipality there is a municipal agency working in close articulation with the associations to give logistic and technical support to projects that enhance cultural, social, health and training issues among the communities.

A2 - Without Consultative bodies but with specific internal municipal bodies that frequently work and listen to the associations: Loures and Sintra. In the first case, it was established an Agency for Religious and Social Issues in 1993 that provides logistic, technical and financial means to associations with projects showing cultural and social features of Portuguese and non-Portuguese societies (Esteves and Caldeira, 2001). In Sintra, integrated in the health and social support department, one can find an Agency to Support Minorities that works in close co-operation with NGOs (Civitas, for example) and the Catholic Church. Since their establishment in 1999 they have been promoting a gathering of information on the number of associations, the needs and potentialities of communities so that further work with the residents can be properly developed.

B - Non-institutionalisation of the relations with the immigrants and their representatives (absence of consultative councils or specific municipal departments: all the other nine municipalities with important stocks of foreign population).

Despite this situation, all these municipalities develop direct actions and partnerships that privilege or are specifically designed for the immigrant groups.

The different way of dealing with this issue results from several factors and among them one can stress:

- the different number of foreign citizens living in each municipality;
- the political completion of various municipalities;
- the influence, maturity and dynamics of immigrants' associations;
- the personal attitude of local political leaders.

To end up, table 52 summarises the situation found in LMA municipalities:

Table 52 - Domains of actions of the municipalities - partnerships and assessment elements

	Aiming specifically the immigrants	Intensity of the actions	Institutional relations (key partners)	Assessment notes
Education	YES	High	Yes - Ministries of Education and Science and Technology. Schools.	Positive
Health	YES	Low	Yes - NGOs and Immigrants' associations.	???
Social assistance	YES	High	Yes - Social Security, Ngos and immigrants associations.	Positive
Culture (general)	YES	Intermediate	Yes - Immigrants' associations.	Positive
Citizenship in general	YES	Intermediate	Yes - ACIME, NGOs and Immigrants' associations	Positive
Housing	NO	High	Yes - Central Government bodies of the housing sector (financial contributions).	Positive - limited in certain aspects.
Employment	NO	Low	Yes - IEPF (Ministry of Labour) and associations.	Limited.
De-centralised co-operation	NO (indirectly only, if the co-operation is mainly directed to the countries of origin)	Low	Municipalities in the countries of origin.	Limited.

3. Final remarks

The new framework of Portuguese immigration and the present demographic, economic and political contexts of Portugal and of the EU allow us to foresee, in the medium term, a continuous migratory pressure to Portugal. There is not only an affective lack of labour force in two opposing segments of the employment market (highly skilled professionals and non skilled workers for jobs and activities receiving low wages and with little social value) but also because it will be politically impossible to stop the immigration from Lusophone countries and prevent the family reunification of the new Eastern European immigrants. However, several question marks still hover on the horizon.

Firstly, the present trend of falling outflows may change as a result of recession, rising unemployment, and increasing economic competition within the EU, which will increase in size with the addition of several less developed states in 2004. Along with this a drop in EU funds channelled into Portugal will take place, with additional economic consequences. In this context, existing Portuguese emigration networks may be activated, especially given that the free circulation of people within EU facilitates temporary migration and coming-and-going strategies. The ongoing policy of reinforcing links with the Portuguese diaspora worldwide, which is expected to continue, will also likely facilitate further outflows.

Secondly, the rapid increase in the number of foreigners registered between 1999 and 2002 will certainly slow down. On the one hand, news about the reduction of opportunities in the Portuguese labour market are starting to spread. On the other hand, the new immigration law (Decree Law n. 34/2003) is more restrictive in terms of entries and reinforces the mechanisms of expulsion on non-documented immigrants.

Thirdly, the present economic difficulties may cause some distress among the main immigrant groups, e.g., those from the PALOP states, Brazilians, and Eastern Europeans. Changes in Portugal's economy are having a particularly strong impact on Eastern Europeans, especially on the supposedly temporary

character of this immigration, on the consolidation of regional settlement patterns, on the tapping of immigrants' skills for economic modernization and restructuring, and patterns of labour market integration.

Finally, the trend to growing temporary migrations and circulatory migration strategies can, on the one hand, answer the seasonal and conjuncture oscillations of certain labour market segments. On the other hand, it can also create a favourable environment for clandestine employment and exploitation of non-EU workers.

Taken together, all these changes require a big effort by the Portuguese authorities to better regulate the flows and to implement a more flexible migration policy in the spirit of various Commission documents. However, regulating migration flows is a very complex task that requires cooperation between Portugal and its EU partners, as well as with countries of origin such as the PALOP states. Besides inter-state cooperation and policy and migration management harmonisation, it is important to think of the possibility to strengthen the cooperation between the State and corporations in order to reduce the intervention area of illegal international trafficking networks (Fonseca, 2002 b).

Another essential issue in fighting illegal migration has to do with the informal sector of the economy. If structural measures that make the hiring of workers by small and medium size firms more flexible and easier, are not adopted it will be impossible to put an end to illegal immigration and to stop the growth of moonlight economy.

Concerning the insertion of immigrants in the hosting society, critics of current government policy point to the need to extend Portuguese citizenship to children born in Portugal of foreign parents. They also argue for the need to further extend certain rights of foreign nationals, like allowing them to vote in local elections regardless of whether these nationals' home country extends similar rights to Portuguese nationals living there. However, the recent change in the immigration law, restricting the concept of "foreign resident", has reinforced the inequalities between immigrants holding a residence permit and the all the others without this permit, foreshadowing the narrowing of their opportunities.

The over-representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the urban areas, particularly in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, associated to social and economic marginalization lived by many and to self-segregation mechanisms led to the “ghettoization” of the neighbourhoods where the poorer immigrants tend to concentrate, causing among the autochthonous population feelings of insecurity and some hostile attitudes towards these communities.

Therefore, immigration policy should be based on a strong social nature component that gives particular attention to the immigrants’ offspring and prevents the stigmatisation of some groups of citizens just for the fact they belong to ethnic minorities resulting from immigration. Thus, an efficient management of the growing diversity of the Portuguese society demands an ample intervention on the part of the municipalities and civil society organizations that intervene at the local level and should be based on the involvement and participation of different ethnic and social groups.

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